

SOCIAL FORCES

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SOCIOLOGY AND HUMAN WELFARE*

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FROM the time when men first conceived of the possibility of a science of society, it was assumed that the enhancement of human welfare was to be the result of the discoveries made and the principles to be formulated. From Comte and Spencer to Giddings and Small it was held that, while we exalted objectivity and sought for disinterestedness in all our work, the goal of our endeavor was the understanding of our past and the solution of our problems, that human life might be enriched.

Now an interest in human welfare is as old as the earliest books and far older. What is distinctive about the rise of sociology is the conviction that human weal can be furthered by attempting a task that had never been previously undertaken, the attempt to study human nature, individual and collective, as a series of natural events, operating according to ordered sequences and capable of scientific formulation. Many other methods had been tried in the former centuries—this one was new.

For ages it was to the religious teachers that mankind looked for guidance in the pursuit of the good, and men spoke the

messages that seemed to them in accordance with the will of the gods of their fathers. Other moral leaders, in a later period of history, sought the metaphysical principles from which could be deduced the rules of action by which it was believed men ought to live. But to pass from the metaphysical to the positive, from the deductive consequences of first truths and principles to the scientific understanding of the laws of human life, this was to be the insight of the earliest of the sociologists and it is still the method and procedure of all scientific students of society.

The praises of science are so eloquently sung and the triumphs of science in our day are so impressive that it is easy to forget how recent is this view and this still developing method. There were faint beginnings of it in Egypt and there was a false dawn in the age of Epicurus in Greece, but the darkness descended again and it was not till the seventeenth century that the leaders of European thought were able to formulate the method which social science was to adopt two hundred years later. The names of men of insight and wisdom adorn the pages of our histories but they worked and thought as artists, and what we

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know as science did not appear until, one might almost say, it was long overdue.

The age of Elizabeth would surely be placed by most men in the modern era and in many respects it does seem to belong to our own time. It was the age that gave to us our greatest poet, the brightest star in a brilliant galaxy, and with Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet as part of our contemporary drama, the ambition of every gifted actor, we can well call the age of Shakespeare our own. A century had passed since the great discoveries began, ships then sailed the seven seas, and the thoughts of men had been widened. But in many respects it was not modern but rather a period of transition. The law of gravitation was not yet dreamed of and the chemical elements were four in number, fire, water, earth, and air, as they had been for two thousand years. More significant still, the belief in magic and the occult and the practice of the magical arts of divination and witchcraft took the place of what was to become modern science.

Human welfare was destined to be greatly advanced when science should afford freedom from superstitious terror, banish famine, abolish scarcity, and give to the serf the means of his emancipation, but the age-old belief in magic and the occult had not died nor could it die till science, its only enemy, should cause it to disappear. It was in the year 1611 that *The Tempest* was written, that last message of a mature genius who seems to be saying to us that the wisdom of the wise is most fitly used to bring young lovers together, but the wisdom of Prospero was his knowledge of magic, and by his own power he raised a storm, commanded the good spirit Ariel, and foiled the evil designs of the degenerate son of Sycorax, the witch.

The age of Shakespeare, in many re-

spects, indeed belongs to us and it is difficult to think of Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Spanish Armada as having occurred in the dim past. The first folio edition of the works of the great dramatist was not published till after colonies had been founded in Virginia and New England, ships were sailing to India, the world had been circumnavigated, and the Protestant Reformation was nearly a century old. And yet the intellectual outlook differed profoundly from our own. The word electricity had never been pronounced, nor the word barometer spoken. The first man, peering into a microscope at a piece of cork, was reminded of the cells of monks when he saw the box-like structures, and the cell as a unit of living forms was conceived—but this was after Shakespeare's day. The blood did not yet circulate and the earth had been turning on its axis for so short a time that it was still unaccustomed to the new habit! Even Milton, long after, never quite got used to it.

But although the scientific attitude toward the world was slowly gaining acceptance, there was one respect in which some of the dominant ideas of the Elizabethan age differed profoundly from our own and resembled those of the Melanesian savages. Magic, superstition, and the belief in and reliance on the occult powers still persisted and still continued to persist till the triumphs of science relegated them to the nursery and the prattle of children. The whole action of Hamlet turns on the ghost and his message, nor was the ghost a subjective illusion but a real ghost, seen by the guards and the skeptical and materialistic Horatio. The soothsayer in Julius Caesar really did have the gift of divination and would have been at home in London or Edinburgh, and might have received

more credence. In Macbeth, the witches were real witches and the audiences of that day believed in them profoundly.

We listen to these speeches today very much as we hear the words of Snowwhite and the Seven Dwarfs, for the realm of fantasy has its esthetic appeal, but to Elizabethan audiences and to all the Europeans of that day they were terribly real. It is a wide-spread fallacy that magic and superstition are related to ignorance and a backward state of civilization.

A belief in a world of witches, spirits, demons, and occult powers and a superstitious attitude toward the unusual would seem to have no relation or correlation with intelligence, mental ability, or civilization. Much has been written about the Salem witches and the less than twenty victims are often cited as a reproach against the character and intelligence of the New England puritans. But during the lifetime of Shakespeare, in Scotland alone, there were 8000 executions for witchcraft, an average of four a week. When James VI of Scotland, who became James I of Britain, was returning home with his royal bride, Anne of Denmark, the ship was imperiled by a storm and the wizard who had caused the storm, a Dr. Fian, was sought, apprehended, and tortured with the most inhuman cruelties. One estimate has it that from 1575 to 1700 there were a million executions for witchcraft in Europe, not confined to any religious group, for one-third of them were Protestants.

It is well that we should call to mind that the Age of Magic lasted from a time before any history was written and did not cease till the Age of Science had fully dawned. When Rome was at the height of its greatness, magic, divination, and witchcraft flourished, and the same can be said of the glory that was Greece. It

was the same in Egypt, and the trail leads back to the savage hordes before civilization in cities had appeared on the earth. Thomas Aquinas speaks in extensive discussions of the nature of the guardian angels and of the danger to which we are all constantly exposed from the whisperings of evil spirits. The sacred writings of Jews and Christians admonish that a witch must not be suffered to live, and the factual record of the power of the witch to bring back the dead to life can still be read in the holy books.

Great poets, great architects, mighty warriors, and eminent statesmen were produced in those ancient times, but neither wealth nor literary masterpieces were inconsistent with the magical and occult practices which seem to have no difficulty in flourishing side by side with the highest civilization. Magic can live and did live side by side with religion. Magic can flourish and for ages did flourish contemporaneously with splendid art. Magic was believed in and practiced by men of wide learning and of high moral character. It was science and the scientific method that alone brought an end to the age of magic.

The steps and stages by which the Age of Science came to be are too familiar to be repeated here. But we do know that, one by one, the differing aspects of the world were reduced to order and were differentiated and studied. Astronomy, botany, chemistry, and the rest were formulated into sciences, and, as fast as the laws of nature were discovered in any one realm, the belief in magic and the occult disappeared with respect to the phenomena concerned, but only in that particular quarter.

There is one effect of the triumph of modern science, which is of great importance, which was hardly anticipated and which has largely escaped notice.

In a world where magic is practiced and occult conceptions rule, all nature is considered to be purposive and to be possessed of qualities. There was real anger in the tempest and gracious benignity in the spring sunshine. And, since nature was both favorable and precariously dangerous, some of these forces and qualities were good and some were evil. It has long been commonplace to speak of science as affording the control of nature but it would be more accurate to assign this gift to the magician, whether primitive or medieval. The rain-maker *makes* it rain. The wicked witch controls the storm or by her curses and imprecations occasions misfortune. Science does not so much control nature as obey her. Meteorology is limited to warnings of the tornado or the hurricane, with no thought that it can in any way be averted or diverted. Savages may shout and beat drums to end an eclipse of the sun; scientists can only foretell it and take pictures.

It is hardly too much to say that, when science had done its work, it had taken the life out of one realm of nature after the other. The planets were no longer heavenly forces, governing the lives of men, but dead spheres of known composition whose mass, direction, and velocity could be accurately plotted. And when biology was added to the list of sciences and life was studied as life, the effect was to reduce the processes as nearly as might be to a mechanical formulation.

The first effect of the scientific method when it approached its present degree of perfection was to remove all the qualities from nature and to conceive of everything natural as wholly mechanical. The stars revolved in accordance with a formula and all the occurrences in nature were to be expressed in equations. Mathematics was the wonderful tool of analysis and

from being a tool it came to be conceived as an ideal. Whatever was quantitative was regarded as scientific, and those problems that did not yield to mathematical statement were ruled out of consideration. The Society of the Sigma Xi includes the students of all the subjects which its members regard as sciences and refuses to admit those scholars whom they do not regard as scientific workers, with the result that students of the social life of man are no more permitted to wear the symbolic key of the Society than the untouchables of India are allowed to enter the temple.

And so nature which had from time immemorial been regarded as inclusive of conscious purpose, volitional choice, and discriminate qualities was now considered so machine-like that the red of the rose and the taste of the sea water were discarded from nature altogether. Color became a wave-length, written out to the third decimal, and the tones of the voice were accurately defined as air waves of definite lengths and speed.

The experiences of men alone remained as conscious events with qualities too insistent to be denied. They were not denied, but they were rejected from nature and banished as *subjective*, just as the fairies and demons had been discarded. This was the great disjunction.

This confusing error became firmly rooted and is, in our time, widely entertained. To regard nature as mechanical and everywhere measurable in terms of operational units is indeed to rule man out. And so our social science labors under the handicap of having to devise methods for the investigation of problems that are thought of as outside the realm of nature. The disjunction of man and nature is, it seems to many of us, a false disjunction. It raises problems that are false problems because they are unreal.

Once admit that man is a part of nature and they disappear. If we are to say man *and* nature, then we are entangled in the theories of how the mind, which is immaterial, can affect or be affected by the body which is composed of the same elements as the rat.

It is to the founder of sociology that we are chiefly indebted for the corrective formulation. His first writings were not of sociology, for he had not coined the word; he wrote rather of social physics and it was his conviction that human life could be studied and understood with as much certainty and as much assurance as any of the other natural sciences. Lester F. Ward wrote widely of the psychic factors in society and it is the contention of all who are trying to make of ours a natural science that this aspect of human life is of central importance. There is nowhere any denial of the psychic factors in human life. Some would name them by strange names but they must recognize them and do recognize them. Some would try to make even the psychic factors mechanical and mathematically measurable, but the result of their efforts have proved disappointing and are, so far, negligible. But to those who deny man and the mind of man a place in nature, there is left only a technique that bears a suspicious resemblance to the procedure of the magician.

The welfare of mankind is the chief concern of the sociologist. The way in which the welfare of the race can be advanced is no monopoly of the scientist but, if the science of man is to be successful in its enterprises, it is necessary to do as the older sciences have done, isolate problems, devise methods, and learn one by one the conditions antecedent to each of the important objects of our concern. This would seem to be possible only if

man and the mind of man and all the feelings and experiences of man are restored to a place in nature so that we may use the methods that have been so fruitful in trying to understand the other riddles that nature presents.

Nature indeed appears in many forms and under many aspects. Some natural objects are inanimate and inert, and sciences have grown up in answer to the need to know of rivers and avalanches and the history of the Alpine peaks. Some aspects of nature are alive but sessile, and sciences have arisen that speak of the plants, from the cedar which is in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth from the wall. Again, nature appears in mobile forms, and from ants and whales to birds and beavers they have been studied and made known. Just what warrant there could ever be for stopping at this point and excluding man and his feeling and his products from nature would be difficult to imagine but for the historical facts which have been cited. To say that man must not be thought of as a part of nature because man has culture, because we learn from our parents and retain what we can of the things they have made, is to rule out of nature any modification ever produced by a living thing.

The termite "nests" in the tropics rise as high as twenty feet and represent a striking modification of the surface of the terrain. No one would care to rule out these structures from nature, although the huts of the natives are often less impressive in size and even inferior in cunning. A denuded landscape after a swarm of locusts has eaten every green thing is desolate, but we regard it as natural, while the destruction of a forest by human beings is usually referred to as not to be so included. A beaver dam will flood an area and a succession of them will produce important alteration in a region

and we have no difficulty in including this in the catalogue of natural events, while it is difficult for us to do the same thing when we consider a dam made by human effort.

It would seem to be not only a great gain to overcome once more the false separation of man from nature; it would seem to be a necessary condition for the building up of a science of human society. For if there is to be a science there must be laws to be formulated; if there are laws to be formulated there must be uniformities to be discovered. The very notion of a science implies that these can be discovered and made known.

If, therefore, man be considered as a product of nature, wholly and without residue, differing from the other beings in nature and with his own organization and potentialities, then personality and character, groups and institutions, can be studied as Comte would have us study them. "Social physics," his earlier term, was not a happy one and he abandoned it, but it does carry the implication of the science of society as a natural science in precisely the same sense that physics is so called.

But to call a human event a natural event implies no approval of it. Nature is not always propitious, for there are earthquakes and floods as well as fertile earth and good seasons for growing things. The advantage in regarding suicide, murder, robbery, divorce, and war as natural events is that it makes their scientific study possible. For every event is the culmination of a history and the scientific task consists chiefly in discovering the sequences which have brought it about. It is not too much to say that if we knew the events that culminate in acts of delinquency, all of them, we should have in our possession the knowledge which would enable us to prevent it wholly,

or at the worst to resign ourselves to what cannot possibly be avoided, just as we accept the inevitability of storms at sea.

Sociology will most surely contribute to human welfare if it becomes more rigidly scientific, studying nature and man, not to admire, not to condemn, but to understand. Religious leaders have tried and they are still cordially urged to continue their efforts; political leaders have striven and they will always be necessary functionaries; moral teachers and reformers have made their contribution and there is no reason why they should not continue to do what they can. Science alone has not yet been tried, and sociology will contribute to human welfare by bringing to bear on these our social concerns the same temper and procedure which has produced the organized sciences which we so rightly admire and whose success is our challenge and inspiration.

Sociology may almost be defined as the coming to self-consciousness of society. Our undergraduate teaching makes students aware of much that is familiar in their experience but unnoticed and unrelated till it is adequately organized. If universities exist to enable men to understand their past and to solve their problems, surely sociology has an important function, for social relations cannot be understood apart from the past and social problems have become some of the most insistent. It was Professor Seligman, an economist, who wrote in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* that the most important of all of the social sciences is sociology. Whether or not this be true, and surely they are all indispensably important, it does emphasize our right to magnify our office and to realize that we are engaged in a task of vital importance.

But if sociology is, or is about to be, a

science, there is an important qualification and an essential limitation to the activities appropriate to those who practice it. For science is devoted to the pursuit of truth, to the accumulation of knowledge, to the solution of problems. The scientist is not the ruler or the administrator or the maker of policies. These latter we have always had and shall always need, but scientists who devote their lives to the study of the problems of society have only recently appeared. It is well to know what their task is and what should appropriately limit their activities.

The religious prophets, the ethical teachers, the reformers, and the agitators all have one thing in common that marks them off from the scientific sociologist—they know the answers. Listen to any gifted propagandist, from a Socialist candidate for president to the nearest soap-box orator, and you will be impressed by the voice of authority, confident and assured. The preacher in his pulpit appropriately declares: "Thus saith the Lord." The prophet calls with the voice of authority, for he could not be a prophet if he were in doubt. The agitator could not agitate if he were not certain that he has found the answer to questions which the sociologist modestly asks. They work their work; we, ours.

Agitators, inciters to revolt, these men and women appear and their conduct demands interpretation. Indeed, the sociologist finds valuable material in studying revolts, as a laboratory man studies experiments. Some confused men among us are tempted from time to time to join the emotional uplifters, but, from Sumner to Park, voices have been raised in solemn warning. Evangelistic souls preaching a change of heart as a panacea for our ills are not so numerous as formerly but names of earnest men will occur to every reader

who could thus be actively characterized, and yet who claim a place among sociologists.

The scientist is the enquirer, the investigator, the searcher, the researcher. The task of the sociologist of seeking to discover the answer to scientific problems would seem to be difficult enough. If a scientist has found the solution to his problem, it is his duty to communicate it to his fellows and this we do by publication in our learned journals. In this way the discoveries of one man can be tested and confirmed by his brethren or modified in view of conflicting factors or inadequate reasoning. But once the solution has been found and verified, it carries its own defense. We do not need to propagandize about the law of gravitation. What could be more unfitting than to rouse men's emotions in support of what can be rationally demonstrated?

It is in the first verse of the Second Psalm that the sacred poet asks a question which he does not answer. "Why do the heathen rage?" he wants to know, and is content to record that "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; The Lord shall have them in derision." It might be permitted to suggest that the heathen rage because they are not scientific. It does not seem appropriate for a sociologist to rage. It is out of character for an objective scientist to throw himself emotionally into a cause, however holy. Society has set us apart and given us a mandate to do what only a few people can do and what even fewer are trying to do, to study, clear-eyed and unemotional, the causes and conditions of importance in our social life.

The overconfidence of the emotional advocate marks him off from the sober recognition by the scientist of the difficulties which are hidden from him whose desires modify his conceptions. It is

recognized that administrators and those who vote for them often have to act in an emergency when they have insufficient knowledge, for emergencies will not wait, but the scientist has a less exacting task. He can search and seek, waiting till the problem is solved before announcing his conclusion.

There are those, indeed, who have identified the emotional advocate with the magician. Thomas has written that the "ordering and forbidding" technique of control is essentially the same as magic, since it aims at securing results by an act of the will instead of by a patient search for the means appropriate to the end in view. Dewey has also written that the exhortation to "use your will" to overcome a bad habit is not only futile but is identical with magic, neglecting conditions and the appropriate means to reach a desired goal.

The scientist labors to ascertain truth, to establish relations, to discover essential sequences, to formulate into "laws" the generalized uniformities that appear and, when communicated to others, are verified. And when his truth is brought to light there is no need to sweat and groan in order to vindicate it, no need to shout in order to have it accepted; for the world is so eager for solutions to its problems that, though he announce it in a whisper, yet would all the world hear and rejoice. We do not *believe in* scientific truth, we demonstrate it and take up the next task.

The possibilities for human welfare that are promised by a developing sociology are related to another important consideration,—the organization of a co-operative effort. In all the ages that went before, the great men wrought and spoke as artists, and we are very humble when we consider how mighty were the giants in those days. The great genius rarely

or never works by rule nor does he communicate a method—indeed it is often impossible to discover that he has anything like a method. Organized science, on the other hand, has not only a demonstrable method, but also a communicable technique so that the unit becomes the laboratory and not the teacher, the department in the university and not the individual professor. And thus it comes to pass that contributions of importance can be expected from men who have no outstanding gifts save the ability to learn and the patience to labor. Sociology, like the other sciences, can use the gifts of ordinary men and the larger and larger integration of our organized associations make the discovery of new truth the work of a group in which any one individual assumes a secondary rôle. We have only begun to learn the value of this procedure but the promise of it is very real and very great.

Sociological writing and formulation did not begin as an academic product and it is significant that neither Comte nor Spencer nor Ward began their studies under the auspices of universities. At the present time, however, it is chiefly in the institutions of learning that these interests are receiving attention. Professors of sociology who are allowed leisure for research have been, at least in America, the most important contributors to our science. There are, however, indications that society will make an increasing use of sociologists in nonacademic fields and that to some extent sociology will become a profession to be practiced and not only a subject to be taught. It is to be hoped that even these men will be able to preserve unaltered their scientific objectivity and their theoretical interest.

Sociology is so new and so immature that we have not yet succeeded in securing complete unanimity either in the formula-

tion of the nature and scope of our discipline or in the exact methods to be employed. This is not only not surprising but it was to be expected—indeed there is reason to think that we shall arrive at the desired agreement in a far shorter time than was necessary in the case of our older and more mature sisters. In a single generation we have made an extraordinarily promising beginning. No human enterprise is more important. If we could only discover the causes of war—

It is hardly fitting to say very much about the ultimate object of our endeavors when the task we have set for ourselves has so lately begun. It may be permitted to say, however, that we no longer hope for a golden age in any future, however remote. A generation ago the idealists among the undergraduates shared widely the hopes and dreams of Tennyson. I remember well the day the news of his death came to the college campus and how the revered president in chapel read with feeling the lines that foretold the far-off divine event to which the whole creation was assumed to be moving. Today we have a more sober feeling, sadder and, it may be, wiser. Even if we should succeed in solving all our present problems, we have a feeling that new crises will

arise and new difficulties block the path of man. It hardly seems that any stability of organization will be more than temporary, for the tempo of social change is increasing, and the probability of social disorganization will be greater. But, when these new problems do appear, we shall hope that the sound methods we shall have passed on to our children will enable them to be met with courage and success.

Man is surely learning steadily to reconstruct his own environment and to control his own destiny. In spite of the confusion and disorder of the world at this moment, there is every reason to believe that we shall learn what we desire to know.

The doctrine of providence has had to be abandoned and the nineteenth century doctrine of progress has very few advocates. Yet it cannot be denied that the written memory of man which we call history does record that it has been given to mankind to move forward not a little in the direction which all men of good will had hoped that we should go. And although the present problems are many and perplexing, and although the problems of the future will be equally serious, yet it is our faith that the mind of man will not prove inadequate to its task.

THE CULTURE-COMPLEX CONCEPT AS A RESEARCH TOOL*

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SOCIOLOGY is sick. At least so its friends keep telling us. Perhaps we should apply the ancient injunction, "Physician, heal thyself!" If sociology is effectively to set about the task of self-healing, some adequate diagnostic instrument will be required. Such an instrument is provided by our sister science, social anthropology. The instrument consists in the concept of the culture complex.

DEFINITION OF A CULTURE COMPLEX

Both sociology and anthropology are confronted with the problem of uniformities in culture traits. Why do peoples scattered over wide areas use similar snowshoes, or pottery, or food, or methods of weaving, or initiation ceremonies? Why do widely scattered people use similar high explosive shells, Bibles, courthouses, pretzels, microphones, or sociology textbooks? When we study the uniformities in any such artifacts we find them closely associated with other uniformities in artifacts—the snowshoe with shaping tools, the high explosive shell with artillery, Bibles with churches, courthouses with jails, pretzels with bake ovens, microphones with loud-speakers and broadcasting stations, nursing bottles with rubber nipples, and sociology textbooks with quiz papers. Moreover, we find these artifacts associated with certain uniformities in raw materials, such as wood, iron, wheat, glass and paper. These tools, structures, and raw materials

constitute the material aspects of culture complexes.

But these uniformities in materials and in artifacts are associated with certain psychological uniformities which may be classed under five subdivisions, namely: desires, attitudes, skills, symbols, and ideas, all of which, to a greater or less extent, become standardized. Every culture complex expresses underlying desires such, for example, as desires to eat, to obtain security, to demonstrate one's social superiority, to use one's body, to experience thrills, and the like. Culture complexes always involve attitudes, such as willingness to participate, faith in officers or leaders, and greater or less belief in the ideas involved. Every culture complex involves skills in the manufacture and use of the artifacts and of the ideas involved. The symbols of a complex, such as the trade-mark, the swastika, the engagement ring, the signal flag, or the Ph. D. in sociology, represent psychological artifacts—objects whose main purpose is to rouse and to focus attitudes or ideas.

Next in importance to desires among the psychological uniformities involved in every culture complexes are ideas. These standardized ideas may be classified into three functional groups—first, operative ideas; second, propaganda; and third, ideas for their own sake.

The operative ideas are those which provide patterns for the activities of the culture complex. In the aviation complex, for example, the science of aerodynamics constitutes part of the operative idea system. In the war complex, ballis-

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tics, drill manuals, and instructions for quartermaster-corps officers are parts of the operative ideas. In the Christianity complex, ideas about church financing, regulations controlling the selection of ministers, and instructions for choir masters belong to the operative type.

Propaganda ideas have fundamentally different purposes from operative ideas. Propaganda has the purpose of inducing members of the culture complex or of related complexes to conform to the type of behavior desired by the leaders of the complex. Rumors circulated in the stock market, for example, belong to the propaganda branch of our commercial complexes. The racial theories of the Nazis (while operative in the eugenics and Jew-baiting programs) are fundamentally propagandistic since their objective is to solidify the German people and to produce certain psychological results among them. The idea that the emperor of Japan is descended from a goddess is a powerful propaganda instrument. The teaching of history in public schools of Europe and America has often been dominated by propaganda objectives. Statements issued by governmental bureaus in war time are intended not to tell the truth, but to influence the people of the nation and of allied and enemy nations. Party platforms are notoriously drafted more to enlist votes than as a basis for action. Preaching in religious revivals and by missionaries falls into the broad propaganda category, no matter how sincere the preachers may be.

In addition to operative ideas and propaganda ideas some culture complexes include ideas for their own sake. Pure science has, as its core, ideas for their own sake, and the basic activity consists in fitting these ideas together, through standardized word and number symbols,

in accordance with standardized rules. Philosophy and theology offer other illustrations of complexes in which word-game activity is central. In an auxiliary way the tendency to play with words according to rules just for the fun of it seems to creep in surreptitiously in such complexes as the law, medicine, education, governmental administration, and many other complexes supposedly operated for other purposes. Sociology is peculiarly prone to elaborate ideas for the sake of elaborating ideas.

Thus far we have discussed uniformities in the material and the psychological aspects of culture complexes. Our automobile complex, for example, consists partly in the existence of more or less standardized automobile engines, bodies, assembly belts, filling stations, and the like. It consists also in widely shared desires, skills and ideas. But these standardized cars and accessories are manufactured, sold, and used by people. The desires to go places, to manufacture cars, to earn money by helping to manufacture cars, to buy cars, to sell cars and the like are shared conjointly or reciprocally by people. The skills are embedded in the nerves and muscles of men and women. The automobile ideas are in the minds of people. By virtue of the common possession and use of these standardized artifacts, these shared or reciprocated desires, these widely possessed skills and ideas, people become organized into groups. Some of these groups are temporary, such as driver and passenger in the same car; some of them are more permanent groups, such as automobile clubs, auto dealers' associations, auto workers' unions, and the like. Such groups form the socio-organizational aspect of culture complexes.

Everything valid which sociologists have observed about social groups is

pertinent to the study of the group phase of culture complexes. What sociologists have sometimes failed to realize is that social groups cannot be understood unless we view them as aspects of phenomena which uniformly involve standardized artifacts and also standardized desires, attitudes, symbols, skills, and ideas.

In our cultural approach to social groups, three phases stand out. The first involves the relations between members of the group, particularly between leaders, counselors, and followers. The second relates to the processes whereby new members are recruited or admitted to the group. The third relates to the processes whereby members of the group are kept in line with the purposes and program of the group. Under this third category comes the whole subject of social control.

The uniformities which constitute a culture complex are comprised, then, under three broad categories—the physical, including materials, tools, and structures; the psychological, including desires, attitudes, symbols, skills, and ideas; and the socio-organizational. But what is the central aspect which unites these diverse groups of phenomena into a single functional complex? The answer seems to be, not in terms of artifacts, or of ideas or of groups, but of activities. Desires are the springs of the activities; skills are the neuromuscular artifacts for carrying out activities; ideas are the means for planning activities.

The maize complex thus consists primarily in the planting, hoeing, harvesting, grinding, cooking, eating, and other standardized activities related to Indian corn. The warfare complex consists primarily in the partially or wholly standardized manufacture of armaments, the training of soldiers, actions of aggression and defense, propaganda, and related activities. The Christian religion, as a

culture complex, consists in the partially or wholly standardized activities involved in the attempt to follow the teachings and example of Christ and of his interpreters. The government of the United States as a culture complex consists in the partially or wholly standardized activities of legislation, adjudication and administration as performed by government officials and representatives, and in the participation of voters, tax payers, school attenders, and other citizens.

This leads us to a basic definition of the culture-complex concept: *A culture complex is a closely related group of activities performed in partially or wholly standardized ways which have been learned by imitation or tuition; it includes the more or less standardized materials, tools and structures by means of which these activities are performed, the desires, attitudes, symbols, skills and ideas involved, and the social groups who perform the activities.*¹

FACTORS AFFECTING THE SURVIVAL OF CULTURE COMPLEXES

Certain sociologists have discussed the life cycle of social groups. Others have discussed the life cycle of civilizations. Still others have inquired into the life cycle of dictatorships. All of these are special cases or aspects of the more fundamental and comprehensive problem of the factors which determine the emergence, development, vigor, and decline of culture complexes.

To the individual it matters immensely whether the culture complexes of which he is a part are healthy and vigorous. The happiness of every one of us is profoundly affected by whether our families, our occupation, our economic system,

¹ Cf. definitions by Clark Wissler, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, 1929, p. 343; F. Stuart Chapin, *Social Forces*, 1928, pp. 375-377; and Hornell Hart, *Science of Social Relations*, 1927, pp. 124-137.

our nation, our religion or our school of thought are flourishing or are breaking down. To a great extent our expanded personalities consist in the culture complexes within which we have emerged or to which we have given our allegiance. On the one hand consider the anguish of the man whose wife and children have just been killed in an automobile wreck; the miseries of Jewish people whose culture group is being destroyed by the Nazis; the mental and physical sufferings of the German people during and after their defeat in the World War; the misery of workers whose coal or textile or railroad or cotton raising industries are shrinking disintegratively; the painful turmoil of the student whose early faith has been demolished. Consider on the other hand the exuberance of the proud young father, of the executive in an expanding and prosperous business, of the young Nazi who feels himself a participant in a triumphant Reich, or of the exponent of a doctrine which is spreading vigorously. If, then, we desire for ourselves or for others to escape from the anguish of defeat, disintegration, and frustration, and to experience enthusiasm, security, and joyously expanding life, it is of central importance that we discover the conditions which promote the vigor of the culture complexes in which our personalities are invested and the conditions which can transform or if need be destroy those culture complexes which menace our lives.

Preliminary study of a series of instances leads, in the light of the preceding analysis, to the conclusion that the emergence, development, vigor, and decline of culture complexes depends upon the answers to nine questions: 1. Does the culture complex have abundant raw materials, tools and equipment? 2. Does it provide intense and abundant activities which enlist and give scope to the major capacities

of its constituents? 3. To what degree does it satisfy the other desires and needs for whose fulfillment it came into being? 4. To what extent are its idea systems capable of being harmonized with the rest of human thinking? 5. How successful is it in obtaining recruits? 6. How efficiently is it organized? 7. To what degree does it attain working harmony among its constituent members? 8. To what extent does this culture complex achieve working harmony with other culture complexes? and 9. As a symptom which summarizes partially the answers to some of the other questions, to what degree are the members of this culture complex enthusiastic about its continuance and development? The significance of these nine questions may be made clear by applying them to certain specific complexes.

As a first example, we may consider the competitive economic system in which capital goods are privately owned and in which management is responsible to these private owners. Because this system is at present partially paralyzed, suffering is prevalent among millions of employed and unemployed workers, and also among executives and owners. When we check over the answers to our nine questions as applied to the competitive economic system, we discover ominous threats to the future development and even to the continuation of the competitive industrial complex. The evidence of these threats is to be found in the answers to questions two, three, five, seven, eight, and nine—namely, its failure to provide continuous employment for its workers and adequate profit inducements for its investors, its failure to achieve adequate customers, its development of tariff barriers and other causes of international warfare, the destructive conflict which has arisen between the United States Government and

business, and the lack of courageous faith in competitive industry among business executives, intellectual leaders, and government officials.

Without stopping to go into detail, let us apply these criteria briefly to Nazism as a culture complex. In summary, the Nazi culture complex would seem to have a limited expectation of life on the basis of its shortage of raw materials, its impending difficulties in enlisting non-Germans in its activities, its impoverished scale of living, its precarious financial adjustment, its antiscientific ideas, its use of violence and fraud, and the international enmities which it has generated. The history of past dictatorships adds confirmation to this prognosis.

We now come to our central problem of applying the culture-complex concept as a diagnostic instrument to sociology. What are the factors which condition the future development and vigor of sociology as a culture complex? First, as to its raw materials, the sociology complex seems to have a reasonable sufficiency of data ready to be examined in its researches. It does need, in many places, more adequate libraries, laboratories, field survey equipment, research funds, and graduate stipends.

Second, does sociology provide intense and abundant activities which enlist and give scope to the major capacities of its students? As to the quantity of activity called for on the part of students, the assignment load may often be too heavy and occasionally be too light. But the crucial question here relates to quality of activity. Does the work in typical sociology courses enlist the full personalities of the students, so that they throw themselves into their sociology activities and use their full resources? Or are the assignments chiefly related to the memorization of verbal symbols? As to the ac-

tivities of sociology teachers similar questions arise. Teaching loads are often far too heavy, and perhaps sometimes too light. But again the crucial question is whether the work of the typical sociology instructor calls forth the creative activities of his full personality or whether it consists largely of artificiality and drudgery.

The third question relates to the degree in which sociology satisfies the needs and desires for whose fulfillment it came into being. Among these needs has certainly been that of mankind for social guidance. Pure sociology has a place as an intellectual pastime, but unless sociology as a culture complex begins to provide valid assistance to mankind in its gropings toward a more rational social order it has failed in one of its major objectives and is apt to be superseded by some more successful discipline. In some particulars—as for example in the regional studies at the University of North Carolina, the urban ecological studies at the University of Chicago, and certain other studies of family life, recreation, delinquency, relief, and the like—sociologists have been making significantly useful contributions. But we have hardly touched the major problems for contributing to whose solution sociology in large part came into being.

Fourth comes the question of the extent to which the idea systems of sociology are capable of being harmonized with the rest of human thinking. To a great extent this question reduces to whether sociology can become scientific in the fullest sense of that word. This is another problem to which sociologists are giving alert and persistent attention. Our progress toward fertile harmony with science has been stumbling, but we certainly are treading the path.

The fifth criterion is abundance and quality of recruits. We seem to have a

fairly sufficient number of students electing our courses and of graduate students who want to learn to teach. Higher quality of students is, of course, always desirable.

The sixth question is, "How efficiently is sociology, as a culture complex, organized?" The vigorous growth of regional sociological societies—such as the Southern Sociological Society—is one evidence of our continuing organizational development. The action taken at the 1939 meeting of the American Sociological Society appointing a committee to work out a fundamental reorganization plan is further evidence that sociologists are grappling with this aspect of our complex.

Our seventh criterion of the health of sociology is the degree to which we have attained working harmony among our constituent members. Here is a point at which our culture complex is very poorly integrated. It is not that we engage in mutually destructive conflict—perhaps more rather than less controversy might be stimulating. Our great defect is that we sociologists are to so great an extent either acquiescent followers of provincial schools of thought or else individualistic system builders, too busy with our own intellectual projects to assimilate the thinking of our fellows. If you want evidence as to our provincialism in sociology, compare the methods used, the authorities cited, and the concepts discussed in the sociology departments at four universities: namely, Chicago, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Yale. If you want evidence of our intellectual individualism, examine the articles published in our sociological journals and observe how many of them advance fresh theories hatched by the author and how few involve dispassionately and constructively critical assimilations of the work of other sociologists.

Three practical techniques may be suggested as promising to help remedy our unintegrated thinking. First is the development of more critical discussion in our sociology meetings. For example, in the meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society on April 22, 1939, an entire section session was devoted to critical discussion of Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics*. A second technique is the increased use of scholarly methods for bringing into clear focus the agreements and the disagreements which exist among sociologists. For example, the article entitled "An Analysis of Content in Introductory Sociology Courses" by Paul B. Foreman in *Social Forces* for December, 1938, is a valuable contribution toward discovering areas of sociological agreement. The third remedy is perhaps an even more fundamental one. It consists in seeking to put our thinking on an operational basis, in the sense of attempting to put sociological propositions into the form: "If you perform operation A you will have experience B." Propositions of that form can be verified or disproved by performing the operation and observing the consequent experience. Agreements arrived at by operational verification have a lasting validity which is likely to be lacking in agreements based merely upon the sociological styles of thinking which happen to be popular at a given date.

The eighth question about sociology is: "To what extent does this culture complex achieve working harmony with other culture complexes?" In this respect, again, we may point to deliberate and systematic efforts by sociologists to achieve such working harmony. The development of rural, urban, educational, religious, psychological, cultural, and other brands of sociology represents vigorous attempts to establish working relations with allied culture complexes. If

we have not attained any very notable results in these fields it is due at least in part to our failure to achieve a scientific sociology truly integrated with the actual problems of human life.

The ninth question relates to the creative enthusiasm of sociology teachers and students. The answer is, "It varies!" We have no dependable measure of the average sociological enthusiasm today as compared with past dates. But certain disturbing evidences of futilitarianism and defeatism are apparent. The address of President Hankins at the Detroit meeting last December did not impress the present speaker as symptomatic of conviction that sociology has great work to do or that it has any reasonable hope of doing it well. In so far as the president spoke truly for the society as a whole his address would seem to be symptomatic of the need to correct some of the fundamental weaknesses of our culture complex.

Those weaknesses, as indicated roughly by the answers to our nine questions, are the lack of adequate research facilities, the failure of our teaching to enlist and give scope to the major capacities of our teachers and students, our failure to contribute effectively toward the solution of major social problems, the provincialism and intellectual individualism prevalent among sociologists, and the cynicism and defeatism which appear among some of our members. While the remedies for these weaknesses are various, I venture to suggest tentatively that the development of a soundly operational sociology might contribute in important ways to the solution of each of these difficulties.

In closing, two general applications of the culture-complex concept may be pointed out. First, it will be noted that certain ancient culture complexes have left for posterity their materials, tools, and structures, but have left no clear

record of their ideas, attitudes, skills, and other psychological elements. Paleolithic stone chipping is one example, and the Etruscan civilization of ancient Italy is another. Some other culture complexes have had their structures and tools largely demolished but have retained desires, attitudes, skills, ideas, and other psychological factors. For example, this is true of cities destroyed by fire, earthquake, or other great catastrophes. Other culture complexes have had their social organization destroyed, their symbols suppressed, and their structures, tools, and raw materials stolen by rival complexes. This, for example, was true of Poland after its partition. Let me ask this question: "Which type of culture complex is easier to revive and get back into normal operation—the one in which the psychological elements are gone and the physical elements remain, or the one in which the physical elements are destroyed or stolen while the psychological elements remain active?" Let me suggest that the answer to this question has important bearings upon whether we shall interpret culture as primarily material or primarily psychological.

The second general application has to do with the problem of social change. The Soviet Government attempted to create in Russia a vast machine-industry complex similar to but outdistancing that of the United States of America. In this attempt the communists were hampered by extensive failure to create the skills and attitudes which are inseparable elements in the machine complex. Founders of the League of Nations attempted to create a world commonwealth, but failed because of the lack of basic attitudes and skills on the part of the participating nations and their representatives. The prohibition movement in the United States attempted to wipe out the al-

coholic-beverage complex. It failed because, while it eliminated materials, tools, and structures for the time being, and while it changed certain constitutional verbal symbols, it did not redirect sufficiently the underlying desires, ideas, and attitudes of the liquor complex. These unsatisfied desires and unaltered attitudes promptly produced a new culture complex, called bootlegging. The attempt to outlaw war was a failure because it confined itself almost entirely to altering verbal symbols. It worked rather feebly also toward elimination of the equipment of war by disarmament proposals. But it

did not succeed to any effective degree in altering the attitudes which underlie war, nor in providing substitute fulfillments of the desires for justice, economic power, grandeur, and thrilling activity which produce war. Such social experiences point toward a fundamental conclusion. If we seek to alter human culture, it is essential to deal with culture complexes as wholes, and particularly to undertake successfully the task of modifying and redirecting the attitudes, desires, and ideas which constitute the central life of every culture complex.

SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN REGIONALISM*

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IT WOULD seem to be almost paradoxical that the last fifteen years, but particularly the Nineteen Thirties should have seen the almost phenomenal development of that new current of thought in American social science known as Regionalism. This was especially noteworthy in view of its appearance on the heels of that epoch-making survey of American conditions, *Recent Social Trends*, and the accompanying monographs. The viewpoint of this study, with a very few exceptions, was nation-wide, and the only reference to regionalism was metropolitan regionalism. At the same time the pages of these surveys presented much data inviting a regional interpretation.¹

During this period of the late twenties and the thirties the uniformity-producing forces and processes reached a new high. The means of communication, especially the radio, telephone and telegraph, vastly increased their nation-wide range. Technological advances, notably in the field of automotive transportation, with drought and insect plagues as added stimuli, increased migration and mobility, both within and between geographical sections of the country. Standardizing influences, such as advertising, motion pictures, newspapers and periodicals, styles and fashions, became more universal in their scope. There was a definite trend

* Read in large part before a section of the Mid West Sociological Society, April 21, 1939.

¹ As a matter of fact, I understand that the President's Research Committee on Social Trends was urged to make a comprehensive regional analysis, but it was the general consensus that the work re-

quired more time and data than could be gotten up in the allotted period. *Southern Regions of the United States*, by Howard W. Odum, was later planned to begin such analysis. Cf. also Donald Davidson, "Regionalism as Social Science," *Southern Review* 3 (No. 2, 1937): 212.

toward an ever-increasing national control over traditionally local affairs. A vast array of Federal organizations and functions were developed which have affected almost every phase of American life. The depression bred a nation-wide chaos, confusion, and travail which in turn produced a common consciousness as we tried to cope with its manifold problems. The increasingly tense international situation with its audacious, unyielding dictators on the march on the one hand, and the spectacle of conceding and retreating representatives of European democracies on the other, has invoked anew a national political and military consciousness.

In spite of these factors producing nation-wide uniformities of behavior and consciousness, the regions have become more important in an economic, demographic, sociological, psychological, artistic, and political sense. We have just about recovered from the chaos and confusion of settlement and the frontier—a region in flux, it has been called; the last frontier has disappeared. Immigration has practically come to an end; our continental area is about filled up; the great western movements into unsettled country are closed. The rapid exploitation of resources has abated—in fact, some of them are approaching exhaustion; economic change, in general, seems to have slowed up.

We have not all been levelled into uniformity, even by the powerful agencies of machine production and urban thought. The very ease of communication and movement accentuates for the individual the physiographically, historically, economically, and culturally unique uniformities of his region, and develops in him a regional consciousness compounded of factors both gratifying and alarming. In fact, we have the phenomenon of an age

which continuously demands wider contacts and standardized activities, at the same time inviting and invoking cultural specialization. Literary and artistic expression became regional. Historical regional traditions and customs are cherished with a new fervor. Deep-seated loyalties flourish, even in the more recently settled regions. In fact, as Odum points out, the folk-society and the region emerge at the very time when uniformizing and massing tendencies are at work, and in the very economy which had been calculated to minimize their significance.² As a result of the same forces, the more settled and self-conscious communities and the metropoli are expanding into the larger "like-minded" and "like-interest" group, the region. While the depression has produced a common consternation, it at the same time has forced us to examine things below the surface. It has showed economic and social disparities that have a regional outline. The N. R. A., or more recently, the W. P. A., for example, illustrated as nothing else could the difficulty of making the entire United States subject to a centralized and uniform type of economic control. The very tendency of the New Deal to produce centralization has awakened a consciousness of regional differences along various lines. We have searched for underlying forces and determiners; and these have thrust sharply into the foreground underlying regional diversities.

Nation-wide Federal political administration, to avoid the weaknesses and wastes of long-range, highly centralized control, has been forced to perform its manifold functions through numerous regional and subregional administrations. The very processes which make for "giantism" and nation-wide uniformity and

² H. W. Odum, "The Case for Regional-National Social Planning," *Social Forces* 13 (Oct. 1934): 12.

regimentation, also produce "regionalism." It has been well stated that the flow and interchange of regional forces has now reached an equilibrium.³ Regionalism is a sign of our maturity; we are settling down and stabilizing as enormous and highly self-conscious areas of differentiation, but areas of a greater whole—interdependent, interrelated, and cooperative.⁴

SOCIOLOGY'S INTEREST IN REGIONALISM

The concept of region which is the basis of this paper is that of a basic configuration of human life fabricated, first, of geographic and physiographic characteristics; second, of the fundamental economic structure, which rests upon the natural resources as they determine agriculture, industry, technology, wealth and occupation; third, the makeup and character of the population—the folk quality; fourth, the historical processes—ecological, political, economic, social, racial—within the area; fifth, all of the cultural materials that have come into the area by all of the various diffusional processes. These together give the region a relative internal homogeneity of features based on a variety of indices, and an obvious external uniqueness.⁵ Such a region in the United States would therefore present a large number of aspects, notably, the physiographic, the biologic, the demographic, including the ethnic, the economic, especially the agricultural and industrial, the social, social-psychological, the sociological, the an-

thropological, the cultural in the sense of the literary and other expressional phases, and the political and administrative. It is understandable, therefore, why not only sociologists, but also students and administrators in many other fields are interested today in the study of regions.

The sociologist's interest thus far has been confined largely to a general analysis of broad, clearcut zones primarily among the older, settled village cultures, such as Mukerjee's work, the study of metropolitan regions, such as the work of Patrick Geddes and the Chicago school, the intensive and minute examination of the characteristics and indices of a single region, such as the work of the regionalists in the Southeast, mainly the University of North Carolina group, for their region,⁶ and a vast and quite understandable devotion, *à la mode*, to the regional aspects of social planning. But of the more intensive and systematic sociological analysis of the great, complicated natural-cultural regions of the United States, such as the six laid out by Odum,⁷ there has been relatively little.

If American regions are real physical and social units, assuming, of course, that there must be subregions, they have distinctive and determinable processes, structures, cultural characteristics, and social psychological features. Social changes must affect these elements in

³ R. B. Vance, "Implications of the Concepts 'Region' and 'Regional Planning'," *Pub's. Am. Social Soc.* 29 (1935): 89-90; Davidson, *op. cit.*, 215.

⁴ Donald Davidson speaks of regionalism as "a necessary organic feature of an advanced and well-ordered national civilization."

⁵ J. O. Hertzler, "American Regionalism and the Regional Sociological Society," *Am. Social. Rev.* 3 (Oct., 1938): 739.

⁶ Note, e.g., the 700 indices used by Howard W. Odum in *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill, U. N. C. Press, 1936. It is not accidental that American regional consciousness came to the fore first in the Southeast. It was there that the regional problems of population, specialized economy, and social organization first became acute. Deep-seated cultural traditions and long-standing historical factors also contributed most pertinently.

⁷ The Northeast, the Southeast, the Middle States, the Northwest, the Southwest, and the Far West—two norths, two souths, two wests.

various ways. Conversely, regional tendencies must have an effect on nation-wide institutions and other uniformities. Interregional phenomena must be occurring which also affect the particular regions in sociologically significant ways.

Incidentally, such an approach gains meaning from the fact that the region is comprehensive enough to embrace a more or less homogeneous area, but not so large as to involve vast heterogeneities and complexities. It serves, therefore, as a convenient and logical frame of reference.⁸ What is more, it is an ideal laboratory in which to develop inquiry and analysis (*vide* the work in the Southeast), and in which to set up well-designed experimental units. Here is the opportunity to sally forth into an inadequately explored territory, which may reveal a relatively large amount of material upon which to build a more effective synthesis, and thus add vital facts and considerations to our body of social theory.⁹ Such material, in turn, is indispensable to the planner and administrator, the problems and responsibilities of whom are not, however, the subject for present consideration.

The purpose of this paper is only that of reconnaissance, of pointing out in a general way certain possible sociological facts regarding our regions and of calling attention to a few studies of a sociological nature that are needed to make these facts more intelligible.¹⁰

⁸ H. E. Moore, "Social Scientists Explore the Region," *Social Forces* 16 (May, 1938): 463, 474.

⁹ H. W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism*, New York, Holt, 1938, pp. 394, 396, 410.

¹⁰ While most of the growing literature on regionalism in the United States is devoted to establishing regions as a fact, to describing them, to the discussion of them as administrative units, to metropolitan regionalism *via* urban ecology, and to regional planning, a number of books and articles include material that contributes directly to a systematic

The fundamental principle that will be assumed throughout this paper is that the region represents a more or less stable equilibrium of a physical region and its culture, and that there is an undeniable

body of sociological principles of regionalism. Notable are: H. W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism*, New York, Holt, 1938; H. W. Odum, *Southern Regions*, Chapel Hill, U. N. C. Press, 1936; R. B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South*, Chapel Hill, U. N. C. Press, 1932; Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1938; H. E. Moore, *What is Regionalism?*, Chapel Hill, U. N. C. Press, 1937; R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology*, New York, Century, 1926; F. Thomas, *The Environmental Basis of Society*, New York, Century, 1925; United States National Resources Committee, *Regional Factors in National Planning*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1935; H. W. Odum, "The Case for Regional-National Social Planning," *Social Forces*, 13 (Oct. 1934): 6-23; H. W. Odum, "Folk and Regional Conflict as a Field of Sociological Study," *Pubs. Am. Sociol. Soc.* 25 (1931): 1-17; H. W. Odum, "Notes on the Study of Regional and Folk Society," *Social Forces* 10 (December, 1931): 164-175; H. W. Odum, "Notes on the Technicways in Contemporary Society," *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 2 (June, 1937): 336-346; H. W. Odum, "Regionalism vs. Sectionalism in the South's Place in the National Economy," *Social Forces* 12 (March, 1934): 338-354; W. F. Ogburn, "Regions," *Social Forces* 15 (October, 1936): 6-11; L. L. Bernard, "Sociological Phases of the Proposed South-Western Regional Survey," *Pubs. Am. Sociol. Soc.* 29 (1935): 95-101; R. B. Vance, "Implications of the Concepts 'Region' and 'Regional Planning'," *Pubs. Am. Sociol. Soc.* 29 (1935): 85-93; L. Wirth, "The Prospect of Regional Research in Relation to Social Planning," *Pubs. Am. Sociol. Soc.* 29 (1935): 107-114; H. E. Moore, "Social Scientists Explore the Region," *Social Forces* 16 (May, 1938): 463-475; D. Davidson, "When Regionalism and Sectionalism Meet," *Social Forces* 13 (October, 1934): 23-31; D. Davidson, "Regionalism as Social Science," *Southern Rev.* 3 (No. 2, 1937): 209-224; C. E. Lively, "Social Planning and the Sociology of Sub-regions," *Rural Sociology* 2 (September, 1937): 287-298; J. O. Hertzler, "American Regionalism and the Regional Sociological Society," *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 3 (October, 1938): 738-748; J. W. Fesler, "Federal Administrative Regions," *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, 30 (April, 1936): 257-268; J. W. Fesler, "Standardization of Federal Administrative Regions," *Social Forces*, 15 (October, 1936): 12-21.

coincidence, therefore, between the economic and social activities, purposes and patterns. Or, to use the apt phrasing of Louis Wirth, there is a high degree of conformity between the geographic, economic and cultural contour lines.¹¹

THE ECOLOGY OF THE REGIONS

One of the inadequately explored aspects of regionalism is the study of the ecological relationships and processes in each region, and between regions. Very good work has been done on the metropolitan regions, and on the human geography of the South,¹² but the other regions are still largely untouched by systematic surveys. Though regional ecology is predicated upon the relationship between human groupings and the natural environment, it moves beyond this to the pattern of human settlement and occupancy which overlays the natural landscape. To fully understand any given region we need to know about the "selective, distributive, and accommodative forces" as they work themselves out through the different ecological processes and give the region its present pattern of distribution and relationship, and also to discern the principles and factors in the continuously changing culture that are now involved in the ever-changing spatial arrangements of population and institutions. It may be maintained as an hypothesis that these principles and factors affect the relations of the individuals, groups, and institutions to each other, and play a part in giving each region its characteristic form, organization, and direction.

The historical processes of invasion and succession in the various regions are fairly well known. These processes are now taking new forms, however. What

are they?¹³ The effect of such recent changes as those occasioned by new developments in technology (the mechanical cotton picker, for example), by the drought, the depression, or such New Deal activities as the TVA, the great power and irrigation projects in the Missouri, Colorado, and Columbia basins, or even crop control, erosion control, and rural resettlement have been only sporadically examined. As they produce migrations from or into a given region, or within a region, how does this affect the ecological balance of the region?

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the spatial arrangements and social relationships of the inhabitants of any area are primarily a matter of transportation and communication. How are the multiple, far-reaching changes in automotive transportation and the radio particularly changing spatial patterns and affecting the population, the communities, and the institutions, region by region? Just how does the new mobility of people affect the equilibrium between nature and the social organization of the region, and between communities?

Competition for spatial position in which to survive and function is an important phase of regional life, accompanied, as it always is, by interdependence due to specialization and the division of labor. Does the network of transportation and communication result in a competitive process which tends to set cities and regions apart as competing units? What are the processes of competition now producing transitions and dislocations and the accompanying adjustment processes in respective regions, and what are the chief causes?¹⁴

¹³ See e.g. R. D. McKenzie, "Ecological Succession in the Puget Sound Region," *Pol. Am. Social Sci.* 23 (1929): 60-80.

¹⁴ See, e.g. N. S. B. Gras, "Regionalism and Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs* 7 (April, 1929): 454-467.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹² R. B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South*.

The city is a factor of ecological significance, both in the integration and the disequilibrium of the region. Various studies of the influence of the city newspaper, and of the city as a center of trade, industry, recreation, art, literature, music and government indicate its part as a center of integration for the region. Is it, therefore, a factor in the self-perpetuation of the region? What is the effect of competing cities within a region?

Mukerjee¹⁵ points out that there is a great complexity of interrelations among the social, economic, and other institutions of a region. In this interrelationship some kind of equilibrium for the whole community is established. In time this should produce finer and finer patterns of correlation and solidarity. Just how much equilibrium of institutions and other elements is there in our regions? What are the disturbing factors? What existing trends promise to affect the future of this equilibrium?

THE CULTURE OF THE REGION

As previously stated, the elemental fact underlying the concept of region is the natural landscape, with its fairly uniform and distinctive topography, climate, and natural resources. Influenced more or less by these assets and liabilities for human life, the culture group fashions out of it what Carl O. Sauer has well called a "cultural landscape."¹⁶ This is compounded, at any given time, as was noted above, of the technological and economic adjustments the group makes to the terrain and resources, the nature and composition of the populations occupy-

ing the area, the combination of the historical culture each successive population increment brought with it and adapted to the natural setting, and the cultural material, largely of a uniformizing nature, continually coming into the region by the multiple processes of diffusion. These combined factors produce variations, concentrations and coherences, and give us a distinctive social pattern for the given region which seems to identify its inhabitants, as for example, that of the South, New England, the Middle West, the Plains area, or the Pacific Northwest. From this point of view, the region is sometimes referred to as a "natural area" as distinct from an artificially defined political area.¹⁷

So far we have had only the most fragmentary examination of present-day regional culture, the most outstanding exception being that inventory of the South known as *Culture in the South*¹⁸ and Odum's *Southern Regions*. The need of systematic scientific studies is great. The region gives us the best unit we have ever had for comprehensively and definitively checking, in a modern complex society, this relationship between physical environment, cultural superstructure, and diffusional processes. Such a study has general sociological significance, but it also gives us what has been well termed, the "profile" of the culture of a region.¹⁹

¹⁷ See *Regional Factors in National Planning*, p. 150. The writer must not be interpreted as being a geographic-economic determinist. He simply conceives of the geography of the region as the stage upon which the regional historical-cultural drama plays. Obviously many different types of dramas, more or less well adapted, can be played on a given stage. A friend comments, "Of course, the Russian Ballet could not be produced in many of our village opera houses."

¹⁸ W. T. Couch, editor. Chapel Hill, U. N. C. Press, 1934.

¹⁹ Cf. D. Davidson, "Regionalism as Social Science," *Southern Rev.* 3:214.

¹⁵ "The Concepts of Distribution and Succession in Social Ecology," *Social Forces* XI (October, 1932): 7.

¹⁶ Carl O. Sauer, *The Morphology of Landscape*. Berkeley, The U. of Cal. Pubs. in Geography, Vol. II, No. 2, 1925, p. 46.

The latter, of course, particularly concerns us at this time.

One of the most striking sociological syntheses emerging from the studies of regionalism is Odum and Moore's concept of the region as a *Gestalt*.²⁰ "A region," they tell us, "has organic unity not only in its natural landscape, but in that cultural evolution in which the age-long quartette of elements are at work—namely, the land and the people, culturally conditioned through time and spatial relationships." As the "total situation" of the particular region is comprehended, it takes the form of a unique "complex of interrelationships," a "societal determinism," a "configuration," a "cultural Gestalt," in which are balanced all the constituent factors of culture in the making. Sociologists, in the light of this concept, which on its face, seems to be sound, need to break the culture of the regions down and try to determine what the nature of its development is, in what way it fits together, what the factors are that produce differentials and variations.²¹

Therefore, to what extent are social phenomena distributed with reference to natural regions? What types of physical-economic, demographic, historical, and other factors lie behind the fact that one or more types of phenomena cease in a certain penumbral area between regions and others commence? Do the longer settled regions show more physical determinism than the newer? Do the more technologically advanced regions show less physical determinism? Which traits have reached a state of stability in the region? What is the situation with respect to the intra-regional and subregional differentiations of culture?

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, 397, 413.

²¹ It is obvious, of course, that the culture patterns making up the *Gestalts* of the regions are not mutually exclusive, nor does the *Gestalt* of any given region assume absolute homogeneity.

Ogburn maintains that the effect of new inventions on culture traits often is to accentuate regional differences.²² He reasons that when traits and inventions are being diffused, one region will have more importations and another less. Has the unequal distribution per population unit of the automobile and the radio as between South and North, or South and Pacific Coast, been an important factor, e.g. in the relatively greater cultural isolation and hence the greater social retardation of the South? What are the factors responsible for the fact that an invention may occur in one region but find its chief use in another? What are the factors in both the originating and receiving region when an invention and its applications in industrial forms migrate?

What ratio exists, region by region, between physical determiners, cultural isolation, time lag, variations in wealth and income, the literacy and educational level of the population, stratification of the population, and similar factors, in keeping the regional culture resistant to change? Many of Odum's 700 indices throw light on this problem, but no regional syntheses have even been attempted outside of the Southeast.

What is the relation between the processes of invasion and succession, noted in the discussion of ecology above, and also the technological changes in the region, and the movement of the culture cycle?

Or to shift the viewpoint a little, what is the significance for social change, both involuntary and planned, of the culture base of a region? This base, considered as to its breadth, depth and richness, is generally thought to be one of the major determiners in the susceptibility and

²² W. F. Ogburn, "Regions," *Social Forces* 15 (October, 1936): 11.

receptivity of a region, or any other population unit, to widely diffused culture stimuli of different types that come to it. What is the significance in this respect of regional differences in culture base, as influenced by the above-mentioned educational level and literacy, by urbanism or agrarianism, by divergent races and nationalities, by communication and transportation? How are these finally determined by the region's physical assets and liabilities, as they affect group life?

Various phenomena grow out of the interrelationships of regional cultures with each other. Traits indigenous to one region undoubtedly migrate to others. What types of traits have the greatest likelihood of survival, and under what conditions when they do migrate? Which have the least? Which transported traits cause the migrants who take them with them the greatest difficulties in adapting themselves to the new culture? Which types or variations of traits are most likely to be inter-regionally maintained? Which intra-regionally? What is the relative ratio of these to each other, region by region? What implications flow from this for each region? How does this affect the reintegration of American culture through regions?

Closely related to the subject of regional culture is the folk-regional society, as Odum and his followers call it. This refers to the habits, beliefs, folklore, customs, and parts of the institutions of the people—the folk—of a given natural area of territory—their "extra-organized, extra-technological, and unrationalized ways of life," as Harry Estill Moore puts it.²⁴ This society of the folkways must be distinguished from the more formal social organization and administration of the inhabitants of an area, and must also be contrasted to the bigness and

artificiality of the larger, complex, more heterogeneous, technological, and industrialized urban society of which they are a part.²⁴

The cultural, traditional, and racial backgrounds of this more elemental society of the folkways need to be studied. Following the anthropologists, should we consider this constellation of naturally unified communities to be the unit for the study of all society? Is this our primary *culture* group as the local community (the village, for example) is the primary organizational group? What are the techniques for distinguishing between the folkways and the *technicways*, as Odum and Moore aptly term them?²⁵

Furthermore, we need to know much more about the *folkways* if they are those aspects of behavior that most accurately reflect the elemental, residual culture of the region. They need to be captured, classified, catalogued, and interpreted.²⁶

Finally, the question may be raised as to whether there is any foundation to the queries raised by Odum with respect to the possibility of the imbalance between the folk society and the organizational-technical society being the key not only to accelerated social change, but also to contemporary social deterioration and senescence?²⁷

Another special phase of culture is the institutions. Since social institutions are man's standardized mechanisms for adjusting himself to his various major life situations, they must bear the stamp of

²⁴ Cf. Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

²⁶ R. B. Vance, "Implications of the Concepts 'Region' and 'Regional Planning,'" *Publ. Am. Sociol. Soc.*, 29 (1935):

²⁷ "Notes on the Technicways in Contemporary Society," *Am. Sociological Rev.* 2 (June, 1937): 337, 339.

²⁸ *What Is Regionalism?* p. 13.

the regional environment.²⁸ In fact Mukerjee states, "The region is at once a stimulus and a result of reactions which have become crystallized into institutions."²⁹ Similarly each region must also have its own representative institutions, as the result especially of its physiographic, economic, and historical-cultural aspects. But certain minimal constants will be found in all institutions of a given type, regardless of region. Thus in the mill-town family of the Northeast, the sharecropper family of the South, the wheat farm family of the Plains, the migratory agricultural labor family of the Pacific Coast, or the heavy industry family of the Great Lakes region, we find certain features which nearly all American families demonstrate, but each also bears its very definite regional stamp.

Is it equally true that certain *regional* "constants" will be found among all or most of the institutions—economic, educational, recreational, religious, political, juristic, etc.—of a region? What are they? What are the unique institutional features, region by region? Does the region have a composite institutional character? In what respects is this evolving as the result of folk-regional processes?

To what extent is the character of the institutions of a region due to the time lag, to historical conditioning, to a particular type of agrarian culture, to economic and technological factors, to urbanization, to mobility processes, to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the population?

To what extent must people modify their institutional behavior when they migrate to another region? This, in fact,

is a check upon regional adaptation, and at the same time possibly a proof of the shaping influence of the region upon institutions.

THE DEGREE OF REGIONAL INFLUENCE UPON DIFFERENT LEVELS OF THE POPULATION

A phase of regionalism which, as far as the present writer is aware, has not been examined at all is the degree and type of influence which the region exercises upon the different levels of the population. As stated earlier in the paper, the elemental fact of the region is its physical makeup—its terrain, climate, and resources. Through this, the region basically determines man's economic pursuits, his success in utilizing the physical resources. It would seem, therefore, that those who, in their occupation and other economic activities and in their major interests, are most directly bound to the physical setting would show the most local or regional influence and fixity in their behavior. Those, on the other hand, who are several stages removed from direct contact with the physical environment, are more likely to show themselves as part of the national or even international stream of cultural uniformities.

Mukerjee has stated that "Wherever man depends upon agriculture, and has found a permanent abode, the effects of fixation and isolation on institutional forms are far more discernible than when he wanders or, at least, has not established himself in a stable relation of the soil." Later on he points out that non-migratory peoples show the best adjustments of the arts of life—especially their institutions and customs—to the physical factors.³⁰ In other words, the agriculturist shows more regional determinism than the

²⁸ Cf. J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1929, pp. 123-133.

²⁹ R. Mukerjee, *Regional Sociology*, New York, Century, 1926, p. 235.

³⁰ *Regional Sociology*, pp. vi, 183.

nomad, primitive or modern. The person with an occupation in extractive industry, who is poor, who has limited culture, or who is little affected by modern technologies, is most affected by the direct influence of environment. This is mainly an economic determinism. One may ask whether the modern nomad, the highly mobile industrial worker, engaged in tasks that are three, four, six, or seven stages removed from nature in the raw, shows a great freedom from regional influence? Does he really live his life on the much more universal plane of modern machine industry?³¹

It is thought that those persons or groups who have longer settlement in a region, and therefore deeper economic, historical, and sentimental roots and ties, show more regional influence in their activities and interests than the recent arrivals or the more migratory population elements. Here the determinism is deemed to be partly economic but mostly psychological and social. What are the facts?

Wealth, technology, and culture in the narrower sense, may also be a factor. The advantages of our universal Western technology in producing wealth, mobility, and leisure, which free us in a measure from the regional physical grip, are not equally available to all levels of the population. The upper classes have more wealth and ordinarily more culture. Therefore, they have almost universally a readier and more frequent mobility or fluidity, a greater degree of universality

in their attitudes, values, and interests, and are less bound by habitation. The rural lower classes, the peasant population, in so far as we have one, as well as the less advanced agricultural areas, are most fully at the mercy of the region. This is supported by the fact that when marked physical changes occur in a region, they seem to bear most heavily upon the classes closest to the physical environment. Note, for example, the effects of soil depletion and erosion upon the southern share cropper, and of the drought upon the Dust Bowl farmers, especially the tenants and small owners. Similarly, the lower classes of the urban communities with fewer technological ways of circumventing the physical environment show more determinism. The lower the class, or the lower in the stages of economic and cultural evolution a people are, the nearer they are to the direct influence of the physical environment. One would seem to be justified in stating that the major determining influence of region in the narrower physical sense is about proportional to the degree of fluidity of the individuals, using fluidity in the sense of continuous freedom of movement and not that of making a desperate migration elsewhere under compulsion of great need.

It may be observed that people at the higher culture levels throughout history have shown a greater interchangeability between regions and even between nations without experiencing great maladaptation. Notable illustrations are the nobility, the learned and professional groups, and the upper economic levels of the population of Europe for centuries. Many of them have in fact been not only inter-regional but international in their relationships as well as in their attitudes and interests. The lower class migrant, however, usually suffers serious dislocation and often disorganization. The studies

³¹ It does not necessarily follow that a predominantly agricultural region is more region-minded than an industrial one. New England is primarily industrial, using raw materials from other regions. Yet it is as provincial-minded as the South which is largely agrarian. Obviously here economic determinism is of minor significance; historical-cultural factors, combined with physical isolation, seem to predominate in importance.

of Thomas and Znaniecki³² as well as the European and American literature on emigration and immigration bear this out in large measure. If the sojourn of the lower class migrants in the new region or nation is more than "seasonal" they are for a time, sometimes as much as a generation, a group apart. In addition to the greater cultural catholicity of the upper classes there is also their greater command of the means of transportation, and their greater leisure to use them. There is much reason for believing that this class variation in interregional adaptability applies also to the United States, though in lesser degree.

What does all this amount to? As American population elements move from agriculture to industry, from ruralism to urbanism, from a lower culture level to a higher, does the natural determining influence of region diminish? As transportation and technology develop, do regional factors become of less significance in the lives of the people? What effects, for example, is the spread of factories in the South having upon the employed population? What effect would raising the entire educational level of the South have?

Or, do the intermediate productive and distributive processes nevertheless tie their people as a whole to the region? Do the upper classes, in spite of the above logical theorizing, show strong regional influence along certain lines? What portions of regional influence remain and why?

INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION

Closely related to the subject of the preceding section is the relationship of regions and migration. As long as we have such great regional variations in

economic opportunity, especially in incomes and standards of living, we will have migration from the less favored to the more favored regions. Moreover, since there is a decided national trend away from the extractive industries toward manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and still more toward professional, trade, and service occupations, this is likely to continue until that time in the future when we may have a stable organization of industrial, service, and commercial enterprises based upon physical and demographic determinants.³³ What are the cultural-sociological aspects of this situation?

We have just begun to study the effects upon the migrants of removal from one region to another.³⁴ Even though migrants have many culture features in common with those of the region to which they go, many adjustments of a physical, occupational, technological, and emotional nature must be made. Differences in climate, living conditions, economic activities, social organizations, class arrangements and attitudes, loyalties, interests, and major life objectives, must be contended with. A variety of adjustment problems, heretofore largely untreated, confront the sharecropper from the South when he migrates to a northern city, the southern Negro in New York, Chicago or Detroit, the northern plant engineer or business executive in a southern manufacturing town, the Northerner in a Spanish-American community of the Southwest, a Dust-bowl farmer in the Portland or Puget Sound areas, a Chicago

³² Cf. National Resources Committee, *Population*, Washington, 1938, pp. 96 ff.

³⁴ See the papers presented on the program of the American Sociological Society, December 1938, "Migration of Farm Population, Especially as Affected by Drought," notably the one on "The Drought Immigrant of the Pacific Coast" by Paul H. Landis.

³³ *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1918-1920.

or Gary steel worker on an isolated Northern cut-over farm.

There are also the effects of migration of considerable numbers both on the emigrant and immigrant regions as a whole: the effects upon the population balance or unbalance, especially the age and sex structure, upon the major institutions—economic, educational, political, recreational, health, and relief—upon the folkways, upon the class structure, upon the supply of talent and ability, and so on.

We have had partial studies of some of these situations in certain regions, but we have little basis for any very substantial generalizations.

REGIONAL INFLUENCE ON COUNTRY AND CITY

There is a general belief that the cities of a region show much less regional determinism than do the rural districts. The underlying thought is that the people of the cities are more likely to be part of a widespread communicating network of cultural uniformities, which ignores regional lines because it is on a level above them, and which produces cosmopolitanism. Some of our American students of metropolitan regionalism have also lead us to believe that the city dominates its hinterland. These conclusions need reconsideration in connection with our larger conception of regionalism.

An equally good case can be made out for the domination of the city by its rural and industrial hinterland. One needs only to mention such cities as Minneapolis, St. Paul, Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, New Orleans, Savannah, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Butte, Seattle, or San Francisco to see the point of this contention. The hinterlying region made the city, it is responsible for its continuance, and assures its maintenance; it is, in fact, the

only justification of the city's existence. The city is the focus and the reflector of the region. Not only are its industries, its commercial activities, and its major interests determined by the region, but its very population is largely made up of people who have migrated to it from the surrounding region.³⁵ Therefore, its whole culture unavoidably is more or less like that of the surrounding territory. Ogburn, using 18 different traits, has made 118 comparisons between interregional average cities and interregional average rural counties. In the majority of the cases he found that the cities of the different regions are as unlike as the rural portions of the regions and in parallel manner, region by region.³⁶

At the same time it cannot be denied that any given city does gather many of its ideas and viewpoints, its fashions and fads of all sorts, its institutional practices and standards from beyond the confines of the immediate region. These it synthesizes and stamps with its own peculiarities and then through its newspapers, radio stations, and its salesmen, bankers, and other intermediaries that move along the city-country axis of the region, passes on to the residents of the hinterland.³⁷ Certainly, also, as pointed out above, the greater technological advance of the city gives it more universals of behavior, and its upper classes, being less isolated, physically and culturally, are more likely to be more cosmopolitan than any of the rural population.³⁸

Nevertheless, the difference in the pointedness of regional determiners between city and country is only one of

³⁵ Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 406. See in this connection also Gras, *op. cit.*, 459-465.

³⁶ W. F. Ogburn, "Regions," *Social Forces* 15 (October, 1936): 6-12.

³⁷ Cf. Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

³⁸ Cf. Mukerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

degree, and the respective influence of the two upon each other is mainly one of kind. The city dominates the country mainly through its cultural forces; the country dominates the city through its economic resources, which give the city its meaning. There is a continuous reciprocity and interplay between city and country; they are complementary parts of the regional unit.

CONCLUSION

We might have discussed also various demographic features of regionalism, certain regional diversities in standards and planes of living, the almost untouched social psychological phases, or we might

have dwelt upon new sociological angles of regional social planning, with its attendant social control features, to mention only a few, had time and space permitted it. It is obvious that we need to throw our analytical and interpretative spotlight upon this new, meaningful areal unit of our maturity, the region, which is a constellation of communities bound together by natural and cultural uniformities, on the one hand, and a natural, logical, and convenient subdivision of the national society on the other. A vast array of sociological investigations of great importance radiate out from it as a unit of study.

BIOLOGY IN SOCIOLOGY

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THE acceptance of biology as basic to and an integral part of sociology has a long and distinguished, though somewhat controversial, history. Ever since Comte set the feet of sociology upon the soil of biology, it has been more or less generally assumed, particularly by the so-called "biological school," that there it must walk. As this soil has given signs of being something of a quicksand, protests have arisen.

It is the object of this discussion to reexamine the rôle of biology in sociology with a view to suggesting what might be a legitimate relationship. References have been selected from a fairly representative cross section of recent and contemporary sociological literature. The approach is made on the premise that sociology should proceed under its own power, ignoring biology as a science, building a set of theories and concepts

relative to and explanatory of social phenomena, utilizing freely all facts and observations pertinent to its problems regardless of their original classification as biological, psychological, social or what not. Such a procedure does not deny or minimize the findings of biology; it is simply a rational development from the fact that the two disciplines are concerned with different problems, and that scientific techniques are rather a function of the problems than the subjects being investigated. Even the social psychologist who calls "socio-psychobiology" the "basic science of human behavior,"¹ really develops his treatment of the field theory to involve a system of hypotheses, techniques, and terms which owe little or nothing to biology.

¹J. F. Brown, "Individual, Group, and Social Field," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, 863 (May, 1939).

There are without question biological factors in social life, some growing out of the facts of physical constitution, some out of the advances of the science of biology itself. But the science of biology is not the science of society and its relation to the latter should be strictly informative for it cannot, in the light of present knowledge, be functional. By functional relationship, I mean one that would make biology an essential element of sociology, its contribution to the understanding of society so great that social analysis could not proceed without it.² When a functional relationship is posited, it breaks down in either of two ways. The first lies in the insufficiency of biological man as an explanation of social man,—the inability of biology to furnish any more than the *possibility* of social phenomena. The most extreme cultural determinist would not deny that sex and hunger, for example, are powerful forces in initiating human behavior. But the diversity of behavior possible within the limits of man's biological nature is so great that the physical aspect becomes merely a point of departure for a tremendous complexity of social phenomena.

The second occurs in the transfer of theories and concepts from biology to sociology which is made on the premise of a close relationship between the two. Invariably this involves a distortion and produces a set of ideas which has been rendered ambiguous by mutilation. Biological concepts do not fit social phenom-

ena because they were constructed to apply to organic phenomena. By the time they have been tacked and gusseted to approximate a fit to social phenomena, they have lost their original meaning and serve only to create confusion.

Even if it becomes clear that human behavior is inherent in biological organization, sociology does not become biology. We shall not be able to solve social problems as we solve the riddle of glands in personality, diet in disposition, and germ plasm in intelligence. Sociology will still have the problem of deciding what kinds of personality and how many of each will be needed to make what kind of society. However, it is difficult to imagine that biology will ever be able to predetermine the mature personality. It may find the way to give us the very best raw material, but it still will be raw material and not the finished product. Even the perfect system of biological control depicted in Huxley's *Brave New World* had to be supplemented by the most rigorous social conditioning in order to produce a smoothly functioning society.

In point of fact, biology has already told us a great deal about how our raw material can be improved. It is simply a process of selective breeding for the traits desired. The sociological problem is not the *mechanics* of selective breeding but the tremendous one of whether society can or should be transformed into a human stud farm. This illustrates one aspect of the relationship of biology to sociology. It will readily be seen that its relationship is no closer than that of any science whose discoveries affect the structure and possibilities of society.

The other aspect of the relationship has to do with biology's contribution to an *understanding* of society through increased understanding of man's biological constitution. The magnitude and impor-

² Of course biology is not any one thing, but a great many specific things—facts, data, problems, theories, lines of investigation—a general field many times subdivided. In its broadest sense, as a study of all life, it could include sociology as one of its divisions. For the purposes of this paper, I am using it with the more commonly accepted meaning, as applied to the study of the origin, development, properties, and characteristics of living organisms.

tance of this contribution can be evaluated only imperfectly. It depends somewhat upon viewpoint and a great deal upon what sociology is trying to do. If society is regarded as a synthesis or "integration of living protoplasmic systems,"³ a pattern of interaction between organism and environment, the relationship is, theoretically at any rate, quite close. But in practice, the biologist trains his microscope on protoplasm and tries to fathom the process in terms of its material vehicle. The sociologist, on the other hand, views the intangible products of the integrative process which have been elaborated into the intricacies of social organization and tries to fathom the process in terms of its great variety of manifestations. The knowledge that each is seeking is important, but the findings will not be given in the same language. Attempts to use each other's language have already produced some rather unintelligible results.

As to what sociology is trying to do,—is it to test the fit of our culture to biological man? Is it to envisage a culture that builds upon a firm foundation of biological compatibility? Does our culture put too much strain upon the adaptability of man? If so, can a system be formulated which will ease the strain? Man does and thinks only those things which he can do and think. But he can do and think a great many things. Is he being forced out into the fringes of his variability by the rapidity and magnitude of social change? Are the artificial elements of modern civilization putting such a tax upon his adaptability that he is being drawn away from the sound core of his biological nature into a periphery of distortion which his very amenability to cultural molding serves to mask?

³ See C. M. Child, *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*, p. 296.

If sociology's prime task is to answer these questions, then it must wait upon biology for a full comprehension of biological man. But the probability is that biological man cannot be dissected away from social man, and that the analysis of society will clarify a great deal about these strains upon variability, regardless of the nature of a hypothetical "biological man."

On the whole, then, it would seem that biology does not contribute a great deal to the understanding of society, as such—that is, society as patterns and processes of behavior, which is the sociologist's society, rather than as a collection of organisms having certain properties and potentialities. I hasten to qualify this statement to the extent of acknowledging the contribution that biology has made to the enlightened approach to the study of society by laying the spectre of supernatural forces in the origin and on-going of man and society, and by dispelling the mists of sacred dogma which have obscured man's vision of himself and his society. Still, this contribution is indirect and, while functionally utilized, does not involve a functional relationship between biology and sociology.

This may seem unnecessarily abstruse, but sociology has injured itself so much by trying to be biological that it is important to draw as clear a line as possible. There is nothing that offends the biologist so much as mangled biology and there is nothing that so jeopardizes sociology as a science. Sociology cannot be a synthesis of the sciences as suggested by Ward and others; it cannot interpret and enlarge upon biology. The latter carries its interpretations to the exact limits allowed by its findings. Any excursions beyond these limits are not science; they are not true biology. The sociologist is at liberty to use the information

which biology can furnish whenever it bears directly upon the specific problem at hand and he should do so, but he must guard himself at every turn against reading into it something that is not there. He may see social implications, but he must avoid sociological interpretations. For some reason, no science except sociology is sensitive about having to say, "I don't know." Perhaps this is because the world is so in need of a sociology that can prescribe a cure for its ills. But as well to call medicine a dolt for not having produced a cure for cancer as to berate sociology for not having found the answers to some of its most pressing problems.

We turn now to an examination of just what sociology has been making of biology and of its relationship to it. Pitirim Sorokin has formulated a statement which represents fairly well the current consensus of sociological opinion as to what constitutes the proper relation.

In bio-organismic theories we must strongly discriminate between the different classes of statements. The first class is composed of the statements that sociology has to be based on biology; that the principles of biology are to be taken into consideration in an interpretation of social phenomena; that human society is not entirely an artificial creation; and that it represents a kind of living unity different from the mere sum of the isolated individuals. These principles could scarcely be questioned. They are valid. They are shared, moreover, not only by the bio-organismic school, but by a great many other sociological schools.⁴

The first point in this statement, that "sociology has to be based on biology," recalls the Spencer-Ward hierarchy of the sciences which made biology a sort

of underpinning for sociology, a necessary foundation. It suggests that there must be biology before there can be sociology. Historically, biology developed before sociology, but it would be difficult to prove that this had to be the case, that sociology could not have developed without a biology to build on. There is reason to suppose that social thought is as old as society. The fact that some of it has become objective in its methods and assumed the name of sociology is merely a sign of the times, the outgrowth of an era which demands the scientific approach in all thinking. We should abandon the notion that since man is a biological organism, sociology must be based on biology. The sciences do not bear the same relationship to each other as the phenomena which they consider. There could be no society without biological organisms, but there could conceivably be a fairly sound sociology without biology. Sociology is dependent upon biology only to the extent to which established biological facts can throw light upon sociological problems, and this extent is quite limited owing to the different nature of their respective problems. Ogburn and Goldenweiser say that biology has benefitted the social sciences "by defining the scope and limits of man's organic traits."⁵ To be sure, this definition is not yet complete, but it indicates something of the quality of the dependence of sociology upon biology.

It is interesting to note that Sorokin's discussion of the bio-organismic schools of the first class (that is, those schools which are to be taken seriously) demonstrates quite clearly, though perhaps unintentionally, that sociology is not based on biology. Particularly is this apparent in his treatment of the demo-

⁴ Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, p. 207. The second class of statements, which claims that "since biological laws are applicable to human beings," one may "conclude that all human society is an organism," (pp. 207-208), no longer receives credence and will not be considered here.

⁵ See *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations*, p. 7.

graphic school.⁶ Similarly, the human ecologists, while appropriating terminology from plant ecology, produce almost nothing in their actual studies which could truly be called biology and so vindicate their claim of viewing society "primarily as a biological rather than a civic or moral order."⁷

The second point, that "the principles of biology are to be taken into consideration in the interpretation of social phenomena," is acceptable provided the word "principles" is taken to mean fundamental truths or doctrines, and provided their application is restricted to the admittedly biological aspects of the phenomena. The interpretation should not be colored by a projection of biological doctrine beyond its legitimate biological bounds. Such a projection is the interpretation of war as a necessary aspect of evolutionary struggle for biological survival. Such also is the thesis that cooperation among animals is a biological law which proves that war is biologically unsound. As suggested earlier, the biologist makes his own applications where his laws are constructed to apply. His offerings are to be regarded as factual information, not hooks upon which the sociologist may hang his theories or ropes upon which he may hang himself.

The third point is that "human society is not entirely an artificial creation." It could be questioned whether human society is in any way an artificial creation. However, in the sense that it is man-made rather than nature-made, it may be said to be artificial. F. H. Hankins says that "all civilization is an artificial construct. The artificial is superior to the natural only so long as it takes full account of

natural processes."⁸ It is not likely that humanity will tolerate for long a civilization that does not take account of natural processes. That is one way the sociologist has of finding out what are the natural processes. Furthermore, natural processes are not necessarily biological processes. If there are natural laws governing society, the sociologist certainly wants to discover them. But they will be sociological laws, not biological laws, as they will be founded upon the synthesis by which the natural becomes the artificial.

The last point, that society "represents a kind of living unity different from the mere sum of the isolated individuals," contrary to consolidating the relationship between sociology and biology, is the very heart and essence of their independence of each other. The fact that society is not just a collection of organisms is the *raison d'être* of sociology. The degree to which it is such a collection represents roughly the degree of dependence of sociology upon biology.

Although strict biological determinism is no longer regarded seriously, it has fastened upon sociology an incubus of biological bias which dies hard. Determinisms of all kinds present a great temptation to the academic mind in its effort to resolve order out of chaos, to express complexity simply. This deterministic impulse seeks to lay hold of some essential factor, which, by universal application, will serve to explain everything in terms of itself. The answer to determinism is variability, the capacity of the organism to respond in many ways to varying forces and stimuli. Thus, although there must be many factors that influence human behavior, any one of

⁶ Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, Chs., V, VI, VII.

⁷ R. E. Park (ed.), *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, p. v.

⁸ "The Social Sciences and Biology," in Ogburn and Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations*, ch. XXXI, p. 412.

them can be made to present a handsome picture of unit causation because of this very variability. But the variability itself turns on the alleged determinant and disqualifies it because it exercises such weak powers of limiting the range of manifestation. For example, if biological necessity is the determinant of human behavior, the diversity of behavior which it permits is so great that it can easily be ignored in the consideration of social phenomena. The things that people learn to want have more social significance than their protoplasmic demands. The proviso should be made here, as mentioned before, that the problem of whether man is being forced too close to the limits of his variability is one which biology may aid sociology in solving, but it in no way substantiates any claims of biological determinism. Ciocco states that "the limits of individual variability in action of direct or indirect social import constitute the material that forms the object of sociological investigations."⁹ He is speaking of permissible limits, or limitations imposed by the group, but the statement serves to illustrate the point that sociological investigation is an important means of learning something about all aspects of the limits of variability. The article from which it is quoted, by the way, is a plea for a more biological sociology.

In spite of the passing of biological determinism, there remain vestiges of it in the form of the aforementioned "biological bias" in much of contemporary sociological literature. Many texts contain, as a matter of course, sections on biology which lay more or less stress upon its importance to sociology. These are usually discussions of the theory of evolution and the struggle for survival,

heredity, and race. Certain biological drives, listed variously as hunger, sex and fear, or the urge for individual survival and the urge for reproduction, are postulated. Although this material is as a rule fairly accurate in substance, there is a tendency to take liberties with it, particularly in making an application of it to sociology. When no attempt at application is made, its relation to sociology does not appear and it becomes an extraneous element in the text. It would be just as relevant to include a section on economics, in which the laws of supply and demand, the law of diminishing returns, and theories of price fluctuation were set forth. This is never done. Yet economic factors are perhaps of even more importance than biological factors in the consideration of social phenomena. I am not trying to say that the sociologist should ignore biology entirely, but that, instead of inserting chunks of biological theory into the body of the text, he should deal with the biological aspects of his own problems and theories as he comes to them in the course of exposition.

Many phenomena which the sociologist is accustomed to think of as biological are not even facts to the biologist. Birth and death are biological processes, but the birth rate and the death rate and trends of fertility and mortality are social phenomena. Vaccination is a biological process, but the reduced mortality from smallpox is a social phenomenon which has resulted from the utilization of a scientific discovery by society. Most scientific discoveries have their social repercussions and for that reason are of interest to the sociologist. The sex ratio at birth is a biological fact (and one which it is not necessary to consult biology to ascertain), but differential sex mortality is a social phenomenon. Mating is a biological

⁹ Antonio Ciocco, "On Human Biology," *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, XIII, 446.

process, but marriage and divorce rates are social phenomena. The word "family" does not even have the same meaning for the biologist and the sociologist. The nature of this diversity of reality in scientific theory is ably expressed by Kurt Lewin in his statement "(a) that a science should be considered a realm of problems rather than a realm of material; (b) that the different realms of problems might necessitate different universes of discourse of constructs and laws. . .; and (c) that any one of them refers more or less to the same universe of material."¹⁰

To say that biology is not closely connected with sociology is not to say that the science of biology is not of tremendous importance to society. It might be said that anything that affects society affects sociology. This is not true of sociology as scientific technique, but it may be true of sociology as an agency for setting goals and standards. The promulgation of the theory of evolution has had a most profound effect upon society. It is this effect that should hold the attention of the sociologist. Sociology has done itself a great deal of harm by trying to make the theory a part of itself instead of being content with watching it become a part of society.

The word evolution in its widest sense means developmental change or growth.¹¹ It does not necessarily refer to the theory of biological continuity and differentiation of the species as propounded by Darwin, but it has come to be so closely identified with Darwin's theory that its

use in any other sense is biologically colored. Even the phrase "social evolution" carries biological implications. Although there are many points of similarity between biological evolution and social change, it is only the fact of change and something of kind that they have in common. The way of change in biological evolution is concrete and measurable, a group of processes of mating, reproduction, variation, mutation, selection, and death performed by actual organisms. This is not so with social evolution. Social customs and institutions do not mate, produce young, live and die as entities. Of course, this is so obvious as to be almost superfluous. But the mind is too apt to think that because two things are alike in some ways, they must be alike in other ways, even in all ways. It was because of this tendency that Spencer carried his organic analogy too far. Biologically, like produces like in a very specific and definite way. In social evolution, like produces like in a very unspecific and indefinite way. Yet, when we say social evolution, we are prone to think of it as if it were something moving by inevitable stages in some particular direction.¹² Historical incidence is con-

¹² The following are examples of differing conceptions of evolution:

"Evolution is the fulfillment within an environment of an immanent nature of life. When the process is complete we understand most fully the true character of the thing. . . as we survey its different stages we may understand more fully what society means, and if that meaning is better fulfilled through any process of change, we may then speak of the evolution of society." MacIver, *Foundations of the Social Sciences*, pp. 119-20. "Evolution then is but a name for the processes of organic history. It carries no other meaning or implication. It must explain degeneration and regression as well. It does not say that things are getting better or worse." Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, p. 201.

"In its simplest meaning, evolution signifies an unfolding or development whereby any given phase

¹⁰ "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Concepts and Methods," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, 872 (May, 1939).

¹¹ Cf. J. Needham's statement that the application of the term evolution to "any process of change or becoming" is "not defensible," but "should be restricted to cases in which two factors enter, an organism and an environment." *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, V, 649.

fused with evolutionary stages. On the whole it is probably safer for the sociologist to avoid the term entirely. Some noncommittal term like Ogburn's "social change" would be more satisfactory.

In any case, whether sociologists continue to use the term as applied to social development or not, it is with quite different implications from those connected with biological evolution. As Ogburn says, "Cultural evolution is thus not to be accounted for by biological evolution."¹³ The biological concept had no scientific status until it was able to explain in concrete detail how the process works. If sociology insists upon using the same concept, it must produce the same kind of specific account of the process. It is not enough to borrow the word from biology, put the handle "social" to it, and let it go at that. The word is anybody's for the using, of course, but no concept in any science has validity until it has been worked out with minute exactness.

The concept of emergent evolution and ideas as to whether human evolution (in the biological sense) is taking an upward or downward course has no standing in the science of biology and, no matter how interesting such speculation may be, cannot be interpreted as showing close connection between biology and sociology.

In applying the concept of evolution to society, the sociologist usually carries over the subsidiary doctrine of the survival of the fittest. The results are bio-

sociological hybrids of doubtful value. Confusion seems to lie in the interpretation of the term "fittest". The sociologist is inclined to worry over the state of society because he fears that under present conditions, it is not the fittest who are surviving, in the sense of reproducing their kind. He forgets that, biologically, those who survive *are* the fittest. He is subconsciously thinking of fitness for some socially desirable function (best rather than fittest), instead of fitness for survival, which is all that the biological theory implies. The best are the fittest only if they replace themselves. It may be that the two can be made to coincide, but this is not a biological problem. Social thinkers were concerned about the low birth rate of the upper classes long before Darwin.¹⁴

In applying the same theory to social customs and institutions, the sociologist again frequently thinks "best" when he is saying "fittest." For example, he is convinced that certain institutions are the best because they have survived. Having arrived at this conviction, he then begins to fear that these institutions are weakening and that they may not survive much longer. For some obscure reason, the law of the survival of the fittest has ceased to function. Now this alarm of the sociologists may be quite justified from the social viewpoint. Meanwhile, the Darwinian theory has been evoked, then abandoned, and it appears that it might better not have been evoked in the first place. The sociologist needs continually to remind

of the cosmos is derived from the preceding phases." Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 29.

"Hence the study of the course of civilization, or of that of one of its factors, is as much a study in evolution as is the investigation of the phases through which general vertebrate structure, or the horse's hoof proceeds. The mode of evolution is changed; the process goes on." A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 20.

¹³ W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, p. 141.

¹⁴ F. H. Giddings made a more careful distinction between biological and social fitness when he said that "what society does is to convert a biological survival of the fit for the jungle into a historical survival of the better for human purposes." *Civilization and Society*, p. 403.

It might be questioned whether society actually is doing this.

himself that fitness and survival are not terms that were conceived with social goals in mind.

One of the favorite stamping grounds of the bio-sociologist is the old paddock of heredity and environment. Through long habit, he has come to believe that he must have his daily workout in this arena in order to keep himself in condition for his daily tasks. Now it is probably a good thing for the sociologist to keep up with the progress of knowledge concerning heredity. The alleged decline in the genetic quality of the human race is indeed a serious matter. But suppose that biology should discover how to measure heredity exactly. This knowledge would not greatly alter the problems which sociology is already facing.

If achievement were found actually to correlate closely with innate ability, the differential birth rate would not take on much more gravity as a social problem than it already enjoys. High fertility among the lower socio-economic groups is still a handicap to society, whether the offspring are congenitally inferior or not. Eugenists should be as exercised over defective social inheritance as over defective biological inheritance. It is hard to see why the inability to provide adequate germ plasm for offspring is more serious than the inability to provide adequate environment. Sterilization of biological defectives will not eliminate social defectives unless the latter are also the former. Whether they are or not, it would seem that sterilization of one class is just about as justifiable as sterilization of the other. Probably, sterilization of both is the only way in which sterilization could be made to produce any perceptible difference in a society. After all, biological defect is socially undesirable only when it is also a socio-economic handicap. On the other hand, whole-

sale sterilization of all individuals below a certain socio-economic standard will not eliminate that element from society unless defective heredity is the sole cause of low status. No one entertains that idea for a moment.

As to the low fertility of the higher socio-economic groups, again the biological factor is only incidental. Here, an increased rate of reproduction would seem socially important, whatever the hereditary implications. The fact that a revised social order might do away with socio-economic differentials would not necessarily turn the problem over to biology, as it is quite likely that fertility differentials would also be done away with. However this may be, as long as the gap between capacity and achievement continues to exist, heritage rather than heredity is the immediate concern of sociology.

The sociologist often designates race as a biological problem, or at least as one of the sociological problems most closely bound up with biology. It cannot be denied that there are many biological aspects to race, but it is not these aspects that are important to sociology. As Howard W. Odum suggests, the sociologist is concerned with race differentials, not race differences.¹⁵ Even the fact of

¹⁵ "For the purpose of setting up an effective technique both of study and of race relations, it is the assumption of this volume that there are no inherent racial differences, but that there is a great and cumulative mass of racial differentials due to explainable causes and often so numerous and powerful as to appear in reality to be fundamental differences. This distinction, therefore, between differences and differentials is of the utmost importance and assumes at once that races instead of being inherently different are group products of differentials due to the cumulative power of the physical and folk-regional environment. . . the attack upon differentials as problems of immediate and practical concern will then transcend opinions as to organic differences which are of less importance to the student of social problems." Howard W. Odum, *American Social Problems*, p. 242.

color, which is unquestionably a biological trait, is actually just an element in race differentials which it is not necessary to turn to biology to ascertain. Sociologically, it does not matter whether color is a biological fact or not; it is something which can be recognized without the mediation of biology, and the social phenomena to which it gives rise have no relation to the science of biology. The fact that, in Germany, the rationalizations which have been built up around the "Nordic Myth" parade under biological colors does not make the phenomenon a biological one. Race attitudes and race prejudice are sociological problems; they are not even facts to the biologist as such.

Even if innate race differences do exist beyond those of physical averages, that is, differences in intellectual capacity, temperament and personality, the discrete categorization of races will never be possible because of the range of variation within each and because of cross-breeding over many generations.¹⁶ In any case, it is not the true differences, but the assumed, the believed, the acquired differences,—in brief, the differentials—that are sociologically significant.

Suppose that it should be definitely established that the average Negro is inferior to the average white in both physique and intellectual capacity. How would this knowledge affect sociology? If there is one thing the sociologist knows, it is that the mixing of bloods cannot be stopped, though it may be either retarded or accelerated by various factors. He

would see in it an aggravation of the race problem, the emergence of further social disorder, another postponement of interracial adjustment; in a word, the impact of a new discovery upon society. Sociology is preoccupied not so much with deciding what *should* be done as with discovering that *can* be done to, with, and for society.

In dealing with biological material, the sociologist occasionally succumbs to the temptation to dramatize it. This occupation may be harmless in itself, but it lays him open to accusations of misinterpretation. H. P. Fairchild, after naming as the basic impulses seeking food and mating, has this to say:

How amazing, then, that they should be inherently and persistently antagonistic to each other! Is it any wonder that life is arduous and painful when the two fundamental impulses of life are implacably pitted against each other?¹⁷

The thing that amazes is this very amazement. The dispassionate view resolves the whole thing into simplicity. The individual does not survive without food; the species does not survive without reproduction. As a consequence, individuals and species which exist today do both. It is as automatic as the succession of night and day. There is the fact of death. If there were no death, there could be no organic life. This is explained by the fact that species feed upon each other. Without reproduction, life would by now have consumed itself. Without death, some other means of individual survival would have had to develop for life to persist. To ponder sadly over the "paradox of parenthood," the anthropomorphic attributes of nature, her "continuous orgy of killing,"¹⁸ her "caring not a whit how much suffering or loss she imposes on one generation

¹⁶ E. T. Hiller expresses the sociologically important aspect of race differences as follows: "... the fact that one people is lacking in attainments of a given type—for example, the Americans in art and the Anglo-Saxons in music—while excelling in another line, such as government or science, does not so much denote racial inaptitude as the lack of interest culturally or collectively induced." *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 494.

¹⁷ Fairchild, *Foundations of Social Life*, p. 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

provided only that by some means a following generation is assured,"¹⁹ is not only a waste of time, but a serious inaccuracy. Nature does not care about another generation, because nature does not feel. Nature is not cruel; evolution is not ruthless. Both are quite simply that which happens. Why then must the author try to make one feel as if he had eaten his own mother? In a similar vein are statements by Sumner and Keller that "nature's only interest" is "that they (men) shall live and reproduce"²⁰ and by Hankins that "the first 'aim of nature' is, therefore, to preserve the species" and that "to this end she is more concerned with the welfare of offspring than with that of parents."²¹ Perhaps it is necessary for sociology to be an evaluative science, but should it not restrict its evaluations to its own field in terms of social welfare and avoid the useless practice of window-dressing biology?

Theoretical discussions of struggle and cooperation almost invariably come a cropper when they turn to biology for evidence. Both struggle and cooperation exist in many forms among all animals. Many forms of activity are both at once. Therefore, the sociologist has no difficulty in proving anything that he wants to, by reference to man's animal ancestry. Thus, mating is variously cooperation of individuals in the production of offspring which proves that the family is essential to society, and the resolution of the conflict between individual and group survival which proves that society must proceed by struggle. War is now group cooperation, intergroup struggle, a natural device for securing survival of the fittest; now an unnatural denial of the bee's instinct for cooperation. Examples could

be multiplied indefinitely. A biology that can prove anything, proves nothing. It is not to be used as an alibi for wishful thinking.

It may be that competitiveness is innate and therefore inevitable, regardless of whether it is necessary to the social order or not. Biological investigation has not established this as true. The fact that competition occurs among all animals does not necessarily mean that it must occur under all circumstances. It is at least conceivable that the necessity for competition among human beings could be removed in time. It is quite possible that athletics, for instance, teach competitiveness rather than merely releasing it in a healthy way. Extreme caution should be employed in making statements about competition as a biological necessity, whether innate or induced.

The postulation of biological drives and urges leads the sociologist to some assumptions that biology does not substantiate. Claims that incest, abortion, prostitution, and state guardianship of children are offenses against nature,²² that they run counter to certain instincts, cannot be verified by biological investigation. They represent unwarranted projection in its worst form; they are attempts to justify social disapproval of certain practices on biological grounds. Much more authentic "offenses against nature," the repression of physical urges in public places, for example, are socially encouraged, but the sociologist does not become aroused over this sort of restriction of biological function. The soci-

²² See E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 504. "Instincts make themselves felt in the social reaction to offenses against nature—such as incest, prostitution and abortion." "Proposals for the state guardianship of children have not met with popular favor because they outrage the parental instinct.—p. 646.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

²⁰ *The Science of Society*, p. 3.

²¹ *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, p. 260.

ologist is sometimes too ready to translate biological subjunctives into social imperatives when he should confine himself to sociological indicatives.

Another example of projection, in this case by a biologist, is found in C. M. Child's *The Physiological Foundations of Behavior*.²³

The course of evolution of physiological integration has been in the main toward democracy with representative government, assisted so to speak by experts, the organs of special sense. Autocracy, on the one hand, and approaches toward communism on the other produce only relatively simple organisms. Whether these facts have any significance for the future of human society must remain a matter of opinion, but it seems at least to be true that the integration of human society is progressing psychologically, in later times, to some extent intelligently and self-consciously toward what may be called a democracy of ideas with representative government.

It is possible to use one's imagination in a contrary direction and arrive at the opposite conclusion. Surely the human body has many attributes in common with the totalitarian state!

Whatever sociology as a definitive science is or may come to be, it is not functionally dependent upon biology.

²³ Pp. 297-298.

The latter is a source of information concerning the biological properties of the human organism. The extent to which biological organization limits and shapes human behavior, and in consequence the social order, would seem to be rather a biological problem than a sociological one, since the sociologist is not equipped to evaluate critically contributions within the field of biology and since the problems of sociology demand a different approach and method. Even though social phenomena may be reduced to biological potentiality, they probably cannot be reduced to biological necessity. There are problems which have both biological and sociological aspects, but whereas the two sciences may meet in their solutions, they will arrive at them, in the main, from different directions. The progress of any science is chiefly dependent upon the specificity of its problems and the detail of its research. If there is an effective biological approach to the study of society, it will have to be made by the biologist, and he will be no more justified than is the sociologist in projecting his conclusions outside the bounds dictated by his findings. Beyond this, biology is a social phenomenon to sociology.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

SPECIAL SYMPOSIUM

The following announcement comes from the editorial offices of *The American Journal of Sociology*:

In view of the present movement to integrate the viewpoints, methods, and findings of cultural anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, and sociology, *The American Journal of Sociology* is publishing in its November, 1939, issue another of its symposiums. This issue is devoted to an appraisal of "The Influence of Sigmund Freud upon Psychological Science, Social Science, and Modern Thinking." The first paper in this important symposium is by Havelock Ellis, pioneer in the study of sex. Other papers by outstanding authorities in the psychological and social sciences are contributed by A. A. Brill, E. W. Burgess, Kenneth Burke, William Healy, Karen Horney, Smith Ely Jelliffe, A. L. Kroeber, Harold D. Lasswell, Fritz Wittels, and Gregory Zilboorg.

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE TREND OF THE INTERREGIONAL MIGRATION OF TALENT: THE SOUTHEAST, 1899-1936*

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INTERREGIONAL migration has taken a heavy toll of the human resources of the Southeast over a long period of time. The region has experienced a net loss of population during every decade since 1870, and this movement has proceeded at an accelerated rate during the present century. Howard W. Odum in *Southern Regions of the United States* has estimated the number of migrants from the Southeast between 1900 and 1930 to have been in excess of 3,500,000.¹ A regional study of mine substantiates this figure and indicates that the net loss of native white population between 1870 and 1930 has been more than three and one-third million.²

It is obvious that a quantitative loss of these proportions presents a serious problem, but if this movement has been selective, the problem assumes even greater magnitude. Several investigators, basing

their conclusions on the assumption that the number of individuals in any population who possess those traits necessary to achieve distinction is limited, have emphasized the serious consequences to a region experiencing a migration of this type. Still others, stressing the influence of environmental factors in the production of eminence, have expressed the belief that the Southeast possesses a more than adequate reservoir of undiscovered human talent.

In an effort to determine the extent of this migration and the effect that it has had upon the Southeast, an analysis was made of persons sketched in *Who's Who in America* between 1899 and 1936. The study was restricted to the white population since the number of Negroes sketched constituted on the average only three-tenths of one percent of the total number and their inclusion did not appreciably affect the results. Furthermore, the proportion of Negroes to whites has remained somewhat constant in all editions.

During the period under consideration the region experienced a greater proportionate loss of distinguished persons than of the native white population as a whole. For the entire region the net loss of eminent persons was nearly three times

* Read before the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, March 31, 1939.

¹ Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936) p. 463.

² H. L. Geisert, *The Balance of Inter-state Migration in the Southeast, 1870-1930, with Special Reference to the Migration of Eminent Persons*, p. 125 (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1938).

as great, although there were considerable variations among the states. Since this process had been going on over a number of decades, a study of the trends of production should indicate the observable effects of a disproportionate loss of distinguished persons from an area. If the supply of individuals capable of distinguished achievement is limited, a decrease in the proportion of notable persons born in areas of heavy migration should be observed over a period of time. If, however, eminence is a potentiality possessed by a relatively large number of people, other individuals should arise to take the place of those who have migrated to other states and regions. Similarly, if environmental influences are of chief importance in determining the production of distinguished persons, changes in the economic and social environment should produce changes in the yield of notable persons. Furthermore, changes in environmental opportunities should, over a period of time, be reflected in the proportion of distinguished persons residing in any area.

In an effort to determine these factors, a study of eminent persons born in the Southeast and of eminent persons living in the region over a thirty-eight year period was made. Since the median age of the persons sketched in *Who's Who in America* was slightly over fifty years, the number of women of child-bearing age in the region and the nation, 1850 to 1886, was used in determining the proportionate yield of eminent persons. The ratios of the number of native white women, twenty to forty-four years of age, in the states of the Southeast to the number of native white women, twenty to forty-four years, in the United States, were determined for biennial periods between 1870 and 1886. The ratios for white women were used for 1850 and 1860, since age

group data for native white women were not available for these two censuses. Native white women were used for the remainder of the period of study, because the inclusion of foreign-born women of child-bearing age had a great effect on the total number of women in the United States population without appreciably affecting the female population of the Southeast. In 1886, the region contained twenty percent of the native white women of child-bearing age in the United States, but only 15.9 percent of the white women of child-bearing age. Since the inclusion of foreign-born women tended to disproportionately augment the ratios used to indicate the productivity of the Southeast, the number of native-white women of child-bearing age was used.

In a similar manner, the ratios of the number of eminent persons born in the states of the Southeast to the number of eminent persons born in the United States were determined for biennial periods between 1850 and 1886. The ratio of these two ratios was then used as an index of the relative productivity of the several states and the region.

In order to ascertain the proportion of eminent persons residing in the region, the ratios of the native white population of the Southeast to the native white population of the United States were ascertained for biennial periods between 1900 and 1936. Then the ratios of the number of notables residing in the states of the Southeast to the number of notables residing in the United States were determined for these biennial periods and the ratio of these two ratios was then used as an index of relative attractiveness of the several states and the region to distinguished persons.

A comparison of the number of eminent persons born in the Southeast and the number residing in the region reveals a

significant trend during the past decade. For the first twenty-six years of the entire period, the ratio of the number residing in the region to the number born in the region remained somewhat constant, but for the twelve year period after 1924, the proportionate number of residents increased steadily. It is apparent that during more recent years, the region has been either retaining or attracting a larger and larger number of eminent persons. The arithmetic mean of the biennial percentage losses for the period, 1899-1924, was 27.7; for the period following 1925, it was 21.4 (table I).

Not only has the Southeast been successful in reducing its net loss of distinguished persons by migration, but an examination of the data reveals that the region has been producing a proportionately larger number of notables in more recent years. Although the Southeast contained 22.9 percent of the native white women of child-bearing age in the United States in 1870, by 1886, only twenty percent of this group lived in the region. In 1850, 14.4 percent of the eminent persons born in the United States were natives of the Southeast; by 1886, 15.4 percent of this group were natives of the region. Although the Southeast contained a smaller proportion of the women of child-bearing age at the end of the period, it was producing a larger proportion of the eminent people born in the United States. This change in the yield of distinguished persons can be expressed in terms of the ratio of the percentage of eminent persons to the percentage of women of child-bearing age. This ratio was .61 in 1850, but had increased to .77 in 1886. The arithmetic mean of the biennial ratios for the entire period was .67. Between 1870 and 1886, the Southeast showed a steady increase in the number of native born achieving eminence,

and, in addition, continued to contribute a larger and larger proportion of the total number of distinguished persons born in the United States. Between 1870 and 1886, the ratio of eminent persons to women of child-bearing age increased .15 (table II).

Not only did the Southeast increase its yield of distinguished persons during the period, but it was able to attract a larger proportion of the eminent people living

TABLE I
NET CHANGES IN PERSONS SKETCHED IN WHO'S WHO
IN AMERICA, THE SOUTHEAST, 1899-1936*

YEAR	NUMBER BORN IN REGION	NUMBER RESIDENT IN REGION	NET CHANGE	PERCENT CHANGE
1899-1900	1,051	749	-302	-28.7
1901-1902	1,397	1,057	-340	-24.3
1903-1905	1,624	1,284	-340	-20.9
1906-1907	1,852	1,348	-504	-27.2
1908-1909	1,834	1,311	-523	-28.5
1910-1911	1,911	1,384	-527	-27.6
1912-1913	2,159	1,507	-652	-30.2
1914-1915	2,544	1,865	-679	-26.7
1916-1917	2,664	1,959	-705	-26.5
1918-1919	2,883	2,031	-852	-29.6
1920-1921	2,983	2,061	-921	-30.9
1922-1923	3,087	2,124	-963	-31.2
1924-1925	3,246	2,345	-901	-27.8
1926-1927	3,478	2,643	-835	-24.0
1928-1929	3,856	2,983	-873	-22.6
1930-1931	4,065	3,193	-872	-21.5
1932-1933	4,161	3,288	-873	-21.0
1934-1935	4,262	3,404	-858	-20.1
1936-1937	4,322	3,487	-835	-19.3

* *Who's Who in America, 1899-1936.*

in the United States. In 1900, 25.6 percent of the native white population of the United States lived in the Southeast; by 1936, only 24.0 percent of this group resided in the region. In 1900, nine percent of the eminent persons in the United States lived in the Southeast, but by 1936, 11.3 percent of this group were living in the region. The gain in residents, however, has not paralleled the increase in the production of eminent native born.

Whereas a steady increase for each decennial period was observed in the case of the regional yield of distinguished persons, a steady percentage increase in eminent residents has occurred only since 1920. Between 1902 and 1910, there was a steady decline in the percentage of eminent persons living in the Southeast. This trend was temporarily reversed after 1912, but again a sharp decline occurred after 1918. Since that time, an appreciable

was slightly smaller than the increase in the notables born in the region (table III).

An examination of the data for the individual states of the Southeast reveals widespread differences in the production of eminent persons, although the rankings of the eleven states changed but little during the thirty-eight year period. At the beginning of the period, South Carolina, which ranked first at both the beginning and the end of the period, was

TABLE II

RATIOS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF UNITED STATES NOTABLES BORN IN THE SOUTHEAST TO THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN OF CHILD-BEARING AGE, 1850-1886

YEAR	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN, 20-44 YEARS, IN SOUTHEAST*	NATIVE WHITE WOMEN, 20-44 YEARS, IN UNITED STATES*	PERCENT	EMINENT PERSONS BORN IN SOUTHEAST†	EMINENT PERSONS BORN IN UNITED STATES†	PERCENT	RATIO OF COLUMN 7 TO COLUMN 4
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1850	780,324‡	3,305,923‡	23.6	1,051	7,310	14.4	.61
1860	957,600‡	4,650,184‡	20.6	1,911	15,361	12.4	.60
1870	1,015,007	4,428,506	22.9	2,983	20,842	14.3	.62
1872	1,073,736	4,763,776	22.5	3,087	21,579	14.3	.64
1874	1,132,465	5,099,046	22.2	3,246	22,700	14.3	.64
1876	1,191,194	5,434,316	21.9	3,478	24,112	14.4	.66
1878	1,129,923	5,769,586	21.7	3,856	25,859	14.9	.69
1880	1,308,651	6,104,854	21.4	4,065	26,742	15.2	.71
1882	1,347,892	6,444,518	20.9	4,161	27,308	15.2	.73
1884	1,387,133	6,784,182	20.4	4,262	27,768	15.3	.75
1886	1,426,374	7,123,846	20.0	4,322	28,038	15.4	.77

* Estimates based on United States Census, *Population*, 1850-1890.

† *Who's Who in America*, 1899-1936.

‡ Figures include all white women, 20 to 44 years of age.

increase in the percentage of notable residents has been evident. In 1900, the ratio of the percentage of eminent persons to the native white population was .35, and by 1936, it had increased to .47. The arithmetic mean of the biennial ratios for the entire period was .38, and the change occurring during the period, based on the arithmetic mean of the first two and the last two periods was .11. Thus, the relative increase in eminent residents

producing proportionately four times as many notables as was Arkansas, which was in last place. However, by the close of the period, the differences between the two states, which still retained the same relative positions, was less marked. By 1936, South Carolina was producing approximately three times as many eminent persons as Arkansas. South Carolina was the only state to have a ratio in excess of one before 1870, and during the last

two biennial periods, it had a higher ratio than had been attained by any other state of the region at any time. Virginia was the only other state to have a ratio over one for more than two biennial periods and by 1936, it had displaced Florida in second position. By the end of the period, Mississippi had moved up to third place, North Carolina was in

of the several states would indicate changes in the opportunities in these states, the proportion of eminent residents would be a better criterion of social and economic opportunities. Although there occurred a lessening of the differences between the states in the yield of eminent persons during the thirty-eight year period, a reversal of this trend was evi-

TABLE III

RATIOS OF THE PERCENTAGE OF UNITED STATES NOTABLES LIVING IN THE SOUTHEAST TO THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, 1900-1936

YEAR	NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF THE SOUTHEAST*	NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES*	PERCENT	EMINENT PERSONS LIVING IN SOUTHEAST†	EMINENT PERSONS LIVING IN UNITED STATES†	PERCENT	RATIO OF COLUMN 7 TO COLUMN 4
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1900	10,504,686	41,053,417	25.6	749	8,326	9.0	.35
1902	10,909,505	42,740,449	25.5	1,057	11,137	9.5	.37
1904	11,314,324	44,427,481	25.5	1,284	14,016	9.2	.36
1906	11,719,143	46,114,513	25.4	1,348	15,770	8.5	.34
1908	12,123,962	47,801,545	25.4	1,311	15,873	8.3	.33
1910	12,528,783	49,488,575	25.3	1,384	16,997	8.1	.32
1912	12,927,482	51,275,251	25.2	1,507	18,215	8.3	.33
1914	13,326,181	53,061,927	25.1	1,865	20,790	9.0	.36
1916	13,724,880	54,848,603	25.0	1,959	21,257	9.2	.37
1918	14,123,579	56,635,279	24.9	2,031	21,351	9.5	.38
1920	14,522,279	58,421,957	24.9	2,062	23,045	8.9	.36
1922	15,020,385	60,764,888	24.7	2,124	23,809	8.9	.36
1924	15,518,491	63,107,819	24.6	2,345	24,891	9.4	.38
1926	16,016,597	65,450,750	24.5	2,643	26,394	10.0	.41
1928	16,514,703	67,793,681	24.4	2,983	28,234	10.6	.43
1930	17,012,812	70,136,614	24.3	3,193	29,148	11.0	.45
1932	17,510,918	72,479,545	24.2	3,288	30,009	11.0	.46
1934	18,009,024	74,822,476	24.1	3,404	30,510	11.2	.47
1936	18,507,130	77,165,407	24.0	3,487	30,835	11.3	.47

* Estimates based on United States Census, *Population*, 1900-1936.

† *Who's Who in America*, 1899-1936.

fourth position, and was followed by Florida and Georgia. Nine of the eleven states were producing proportionately more notables at the end of the period; only two states, Florida and Kentucky, registered an actual decrease in the ratio of eminent persons to women of child-bearing age (chart I).

Although changes in the productivity

denced in the case of eminent residents. At the beginning of the century, Florida, which, during the entire period had a higher proportion of distinguished residents than any other state, had proportionately three times as many eminent residents as Arkansas, which was in last position. In the ensuing years, the differences between the several states became

more and more accentuated and by the end of the period, Florida had a ratio nearly seven times greater than that of Arkansas. Recognizing that Florida has occupied an unique position among the states of the Southeast, the trend is nevertheless evidenced by a comparison of the standings of the other states of the region. Louisiana, in second place

of distinguished residents, two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, remained unchanged, and three states, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Arkansas, had relatively fewer eminent residents than at the beginning of the period (chart II).

Although the Southeast contained a smaller proportion of the total number of native white women of child-bearing age

RATIOS OF EMINENT PERSONS BORN IN THE SOUTHEAST, BY STATES

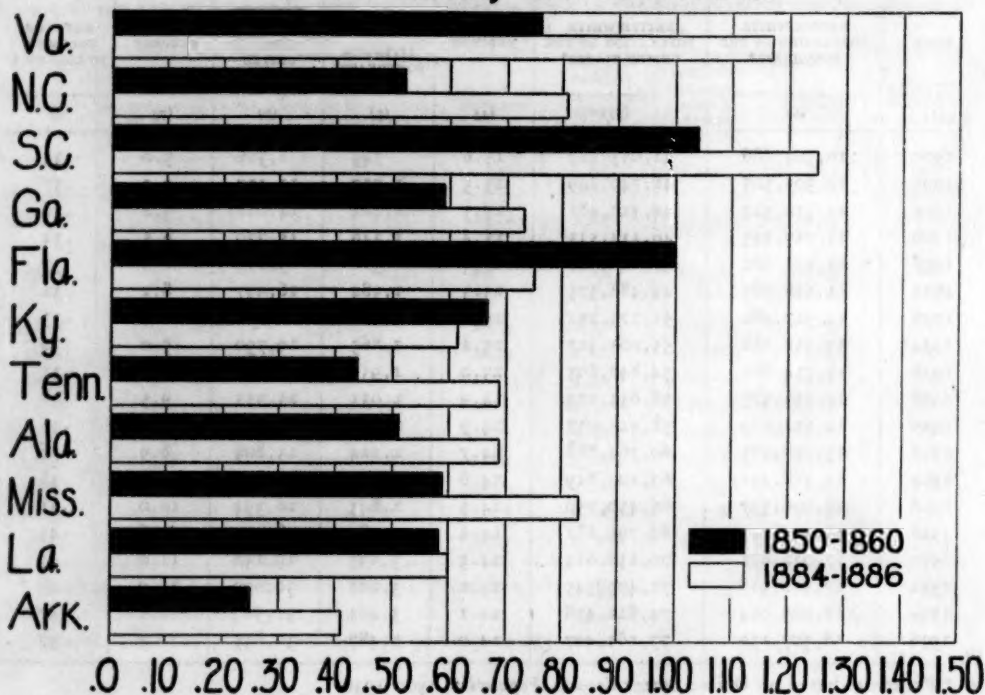


CHART I

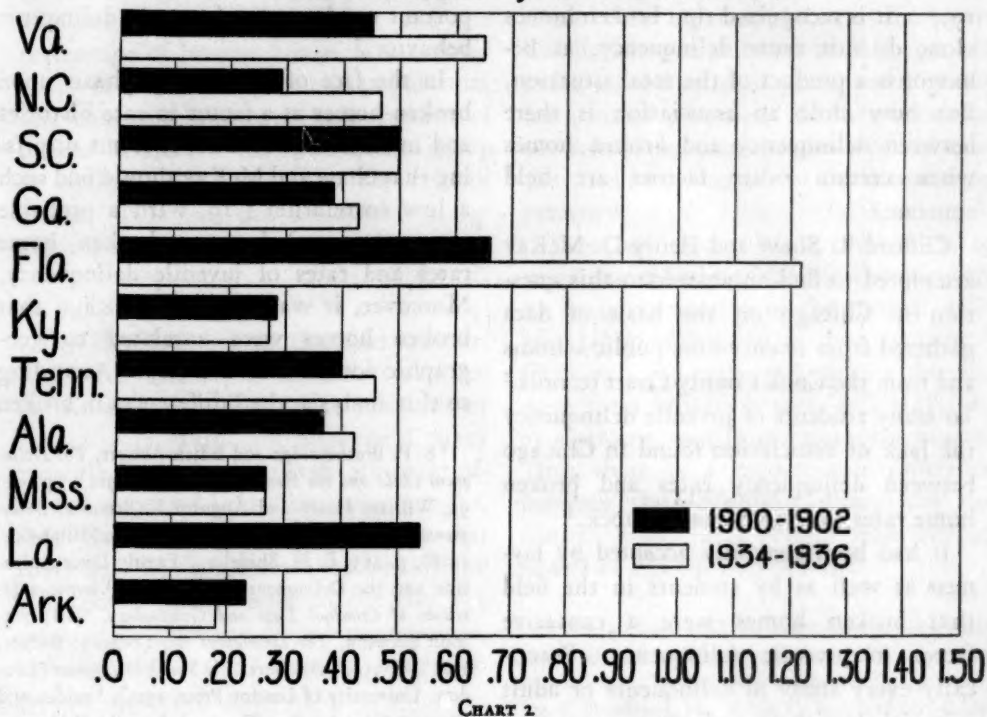
at the beginning of the period, had approximately twice the proportionate number of eminent residents as had Arkansas. At the end of the period, Virginia, which had moved up to second position, had proportionately nearly four times as many eminent residents as Arkansas. At the end of the period, six states had attracted a larger proportionate number

in the United States at the end of the period, it was producing a larger proportion of the eminent people born in the United States. Between 1870 and 1886, the Southeast showed a steady increase in its proportionate yield. Since the region was able to contribute increasingly to the total number of notables in the United States in the face of a heavy loss

of eminent individuals by migration, it would appear that the reserve supply of undeveloped ability in the region was more than sufficient to replace any losses of developed talent. The actual increase in the yield of notables in a number of states as well as the region as a whole would evidence an increase in opportunities to achieve eminence. However, the

but it was able to attract a larger proportion of the eminent people in the United States. However, the gain in residents has not equalled the increase in the production of distinguished persons. The rapid increase in the number of eminent people resident in the Southeast since 1920 would appear to indicate a diminishing of the migration of this class of people

RATIOS OF EMINENT PERSONS LIVING IN THE SOUTHEAST, BY STATES



marked differences in the yield of the several states would indicate great differences in opportunities within these states. Furthermore, the changes in the productivity of individual states during the period would also be indicative of changes in opportunities in those states during the period.

Not only was the Southeast able to increase its yield of distinguished persons,

from the region. Since the increase in eminent residents, as well as the increase in the yield of notables, is indicative of greater opportunities within the region, there may well be reason to anticipate that the trend will continue in the future, and that at some not too distant date, the Southeast may be able to offer adequate opportunities to all of its distinguished offspring.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND BROKEN HOMES IN SPOKANE, WASHINGTON

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ARE broken homes¹ a factor in juvenile delinquency? This question the writers attempted to answer in Spokane, Washington, using as a basis of analysis the records of the delinquents who had appeared before the Spokane County Juvenile Court in 1937. It is recognized that broken homes alone do not cause delinquency, as behavior is a product of the total situation. But how close an association is there between delinquency and broken homes when certain other factors are held constant?

Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay attempted to find an answer to this question in Chicago on the basis of data gathered from twenty-nine public schools and from the Cook County Court records.² To many students of juvenile delinquency the lack of association found in Chicago between delinquency rates and broken home rates came as rather a shock.³

It had been generally accepted by laymen as well as by students in the field that broken homes were a causative factor in juvenile delinquency. Practically every study of delinquents or adult criminals had shown a high percentage of

cases from broken homes.⁴ In addition, many case histories point to the broken home as a very important factor in the child's maladjustment because of his lack of security.⁵ Specialists in child psychology and psychiatrists have also designated the broken home as an important conditioning factor in delinquent behavior.⁶

In the face of so much emphasis upon broken homes as a factor in case histories and in statistical studies, it seems surprising that Shaw and McKay should find such a low correlation (.19, with a probable error of $\pm .12$) between broken home rates and rates of juvenile delinquency. Moreover, it was found in Chicago that broken homes were unrelated to geographic location in the city. According to this analysis, the "differences in broken

¹ S. P. Breckinridge and Edith Abbott, *The Delinquent Child and the Home* (New York, 1912), pp. 91-92; William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1926), p. 163; E. H. Shideler, "Family Disorganization and the Delinquent Boy," *Journal American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, VIII, 713; John Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy* (Boston: Badger, 1926), p. 354; Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (London: University of London Press, 1925); Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 75-76; S. and E. T. Glueck, *500 Criminal Careers* (New York, 1930), pp. 116-17.

² Mary B. Sayles, *The Problem Child at Home* (New York, 1928); Mary B. Sayles, *The Problem Child at School* (New York, 1925). See also Shaw's own case studies in *Report on Causes of Crime*, pp. 285-343, and his *Natural History of a Delinquent Career* and *The Jack-Roller*.

³ As an example see William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent* (Boston, 1915), pp. 290-91, and *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct* (Boston, 1926), pp. 213-25.

¹ A "broken home" is defined as any home in which one or both parents have been removed by death, divorce, desertion, separation, or prolonged absence due to confinement in an institution.

² *Social Forces* (May 1932), pp. 514-24. See also discussion of above article, *ibid.*, pp. 525-33, and National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Causes of Crime*, II (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 259-84.

³ *Ibid.*, *Social Forces*, p. 524, and *Report on Causes of Crime*, p. 284.

home rates were due primarily to variation in the incidence of broken homes among different racial and national groups," and to the increase in broken home rates with age.⁷ From this it was concluded that any comparison of the rate of broken homes between a delinquent and a non-delinquent group must be based on a control group of comparable nationality and age composition. A comparison was therefore made of the percentage of broken homes in a series of 1,675 delinquents brought into the Juvenile Court of Cook County during 1929, and the percentage of broken homes in a control group chosen from the school population. The comparison showed 42.5 percent of broken homes in the delinquent group as against 36.1 percent in the control group. This was not considered a significant difference.⁸

SOURCE OF DATA

Do the findings in Spokane support these conclusions? A schedule was filled out for each delinquent who had contact during 1937 with the Spokane County Juvenile Court.⁹ Although 420 male offenders appeared before the court in 1937, only 330 of these could be used in this study because the others lived outside the city limits. There were in the city 135 cases, or 41.4 percent, from broken homes, and 191 cases, or 58.6 percent, from non-broken homes.¹⁰

In order to determine the rate of broken homes in the general population, questionnaires were submitted to the students in

the five public secondary schools of Spokane.¹¹ The secondary school population was chosen as a control group because three-fourths of the delinquents fall within the age composition of these schools.¹² Normally a boy fourteen years of age is in high school, and a control group should be composed of individuals who do not deviate from the ideal norm in this respect. Conversely, all students under fourteen years of age who are in high school also deviate from the norm and were therefore excluded, as were all those over eighteen because the court has jurisdiction only up to this age. In order to secure a non-delinquent group for control purposes, all individuals in the school population who reported that they had been arrested for any reason were excluded.

These exclusions left a total of 2,119 usable cases believed by the investigators to be representative of the normal male population of this age group in Spokane.¹³ Of these 2,119 cases, 556, or 26.7 percent, were from broken homes, and 1,553, or 73.3 percent, were from non-broken homes. Thus there is a considerable difference between the delinquent group and the control group, 41.4 percent from broken homes as against 26.7 percent.

¹¹ The authors wish to acknowledge their debt to the principals of the five Spokane public secondary schools: Mr. Truman Reed, Mr. F. G. Kennedy, Mr. J. D. Meyer, Mr. H. G. C. Fry, and Mr. R. H. Knaack, without whose interest and support this study could not have been carried out.

¹² The 75 percent of the delinquents who were fourteen years of age and over were compared with the total delinquent group on a number of categories such as father's occupation, broken homes, school retardation, etc., by means of the Chi square test for significance. There were no significant differences.

¹³ Chi square tests were made comparing this group with Census figures to ascertain whether the group deviated in any fundamental way from the general population. In no case were the differences significant.

⁷ *Social Forces*, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 522, 524.

⁹ Thanks are due to Judge R. M. Webster of the Spokane County Juvenile Court and to Mr. H. W. Arvin, Chief Probation Officer, for permission to use the records in the Juvenile Court Office and for aid rendered in interpreting some of the records.

¹⁰ Four cases had to be discarded because there was no information on the home situation.

Rates of delinquency were calculated for each of the thirty-six school districts in Spokane. This was accomplished by adding to the number of individuals aged eight to eighteen enrolled in the elementary schools,¹⁴ the number of high school students residing in each elementary school district.¹⁵ The lowest rate, 1.0 per hundred males, was in Cooper district, on the northeast side of the city; and the highest rate, 10.4 per hundred males, was in McKinley district, just southeast of the retail store center.

Rates of broken homes¹⁶ were then calculated for each of the thirty-six school districts. These rates varied from 15.4 percent in Finch district to 43.5 percent in Washington district. In Spokane, as was found in Chicago, there are certain school districts which show a broken home rate almost three times as great as that in other districts.¹⁷

VARIATION OF DELINQUENCY RATES AND BROKEN HOME RATES WITH GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Do delinquency and broken home rates vary with geographic location? In order to answer this question, school districts were grouped together in tiers roughly conforming to four zones formed by concentric circles drawn with radii of one, two, and three miles from the center of

the city. All school districts which included and immediately surrounded the center of the city were grouped in Tier I. The districts contiguous to Tier I were grouped together in Tier II; in like manner were formed Tiers III and IV. Delinquency rates and broken home rates were then computed for each tier of districts. Table I shows the rates of delinquency and the rates of broken homes by tiers.

It would seem that these figures do indicate a relationship between delinquency rates, broken home rates, and geographic location in the city. Apparently both the broken home rate and

TABLE I
RATES OF DELINQUENCY AND RATES OF BROKEN
HOMES BY TIERS

	DELIN- QUENCY RATE	BROKEN HOME RATE
Tier I.....	6.9	35.6
Tier II.....	4.9	25.8
Tier III.....	3.4	23.5
Tier IV.....	2.3	23.0
Total.....	4.5	26.7

the delinquency rate decrease consistently as the periphery of the city is approached. Within each of these tiers there is a rather wide variation in the rates of broken homes, but so also is there a wide variation in delinquency rates.¹⁸ The

¹⁴ *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Spokane Public Schools*, Spokane, Washington (1937), p. 42.

¹⁵ It should be noted that the denominator for calculating rates is an approximation of the juvenile population in each district and not the actual juvenile population. There was no account taken of the students attending parochial schools nor of persons who had left school. If these two groups were included there might be some fluctuations in the rates for the separate school districts.

¹⁶ "Rate of broken homes" refers to the percentage of boys in the control group who in a given school district come from homes that have been broken.

¹⁷ *Social Forces*, *op. cit.*, p. 517, and *Report on Causes of Crime*, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

¹⁸ The Shaw-McKay study places considerable emphasis on the wide fluctuation of broken home rates among the schools within each of the three groups of areas into which they separated the delinquency rates, but ignores the same rather wide fluctuation in the rates of delinquency. (Cf. *Report on Causes of Crime*, *op. cit.*, p. 265.) See also *Delinquency Areas*, *passim*. Here Shaw calculates delinquency rates for concentric square mile areas and makes little mention of the wide fluctuation in rates of delinquency in these different concentric zones. He reports a rate of 10.9 in the area immediately adjacent to the Loop (p. 64), yet the rates in this area range

comparison of the delinquency rates with the broken home rates would lead to an expectation that there might be a correlation between these two series. The correlation for thirty-two¹⁹ school districts was found to be .38 with a standard error of $\pm .15$.²⁰ It is true that this coefficient is not large, but it indicates a significant association between broken homes and delinquency.²¹

Because some criticism might be made of combining all types of broken homes into one category, homes broken by divorce, separation, and desertion were segregated from those broken by death or other involuntary causes, and a correlation was run between the voluntarily broken home rates and delinquency rates. The correlation thus obtained was $.40 \pm .15$, which is not significantly different from the correlation obtained when all types of broken homes were included.

An analysis of the scatter diagram plotted for broken home rates and delinquency rates, and of the deviates from the line fitted by least squares, showed that there were three districts which deviated markedly from the average. When these districts were excluded²²

from 13.1 to 26.6 (p. 61). There are even wider fluctuations in some of the other zones.

¹⁹ Although there are 36 school districts in Spokane, the number was reduced to 32 by combining some districts. In two cases where the numbers were too small to use as a basis for the calculation of rates, districts were combined with those adjacent to them. In one case three districts, Field, Madison, and Willard, were grouped together because of the smallness of the school population in Field and Madison and the fact that these two schools do not include all the age groups.

²⁰ In all calculations for this study the standard error is used as a better measure of deviation than the probable error. See R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (1928), p. 46.

²¹ This correlation coefficient is twice as high as that found in the Chicago study. *Social Forces*, op. cit., p. 517.

²² See *infra* for a discussion of these deviates.

from the calculations, the correlation was raised to $.61 \pm .12$. This is a high correlation for social data, and is decidedly significant.

In order to determine what factors other than broken homes might be associated with delinquency rates in Spokane, percentages for each school district were calculated for homes rented, foreign born parentage, and heads of families unemployed. When correlation coefficients were run between the delinquency series and these various rates, the only one which showed a significant association ($.49 \pm .13$) with delinquency was the percentage of homes rented.²³

A correlation coefficient was then calculated for broken homes and percentage of homes rented, and a high correlation ($.70 \pm .09$) was found. Although this is in part an economic index, there are probably other factors such as family mobility and social status involved. From the data available there is no way of partialling out these factors from this correlation.²⁴ As might be expected, when percentage of homes rented is held constant in a partial correlation between the delinquency series and the broken home series, the resulting coefficient is reduced to insignificance ($.06 \pm .18$). Whatever the percentage of homes rented is measuring in addition to the economic factor, it is associated very closely with rates of broken homes and should be taken

²³ The correlation between delinquency and foreign born was $.02 \pm .18$; between delinquency and unemployed, $.14 \pm .17$.

²⁴ It is noteworthy that in Cleveland, Ohio, Dr. Sheldon found that when median rental and dependency were partialled out of a coefficient of correlation between delinquency rates and percentage of homes owned, the coefficient of correlation was reduced from $-.70$ to $-.52$. This indicates that there are other factors besides purely economic ones in the percentage of homes owned. Henry D. Sheldon, Jr., "Problems in the Statistical Study of Juvenile Delinquency," *Metron*, 12, No. 1 (Rome, 1934), p. 207.

into consideration in evaluating the association between delinquency and broken home rates. It is interesting to observe that if broken homes are partialled out of a correlation between delinquency and percentage of homes rented the correlation is reduced from $.49 \pm .13$ to $.38 \pm .15$, showing a much higher association between delinquency rates and percentage of homes rented than that between delinquency rates and broken home rates. Consequently, it would seem that percentage of homes rented is a more valid index of delinquency in Spokane than is the rate of broken homes.

However, when the three districts which deviate are left out of the calculations, the correlation between delinquency rates and broken home rates shows a much closer association (.61). The correlation between delinquency rates and percentage of homes rented is also higher, raised from $.49 \pm .13$ to $.64 \pm .11$; and the partial correlation between delinquency and broken homes, holding constant the effect of homes rented, becomes $.35 \pm .16$. This coefficient shows a significant association between delinquency rates and broken home rates, even when percentage of homes rented is partialled out.²⁵

REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN DISTRICTS

An examination should be made of the districts which were excluded in obtaining the .61 correlation to determine whether there is justification for dropping them from the calculations. These districts are: Whittier, with an exceptionally high

delinquency rate (8.3), and a low broken home rate (15.4); and Irving and Washington with comparatively low delinquency rates (3.2 and 4.5 respectively) and high broken home rates (40.0 and 43.5 respectively).²⁶ Each district excluded resulted in a marked increase in the correlation coefficient.²⁷

An analysis of the offenses committed in Whittier district shows them to be merely childish pranks rather than serious delinquencies. All but one case were first offenders and two thirds of them were under twelve years of age. Moreover the delinquents' broken home rate was 37.5 as contrasted with 15.4 for the general population.

Washington and Irving districts are not homogeneous areas. Sections of both of these districts are being encroached upon by the business area, and show many interstitial characteristics. The sections farthest removed from the business area, on the other hand, are part of the best residential area. In Washington, if a fairly even distribution of the juvenile population is assumed, the delinquency rate for that portion of the district nearest the city center is raised to 6.7 which is more in keeping with the broken home rate. In Irving district there is a marked concentration of Jews. They have a low rate of delinquency and a high rate of broken homes in this district.²⁸ Again in Irving the broken home rate of the

²⁶ Two of these deviate from the general pattern of delinquency areas. See H. Ashley Weeks and Margaret G. Smith, "Delinquency Areas in Spokane, Washington." *State College of Washington Research Studies*. (September, 1938) Map 2, p. 113.

²⁷ Leaving out Whittier, $r = .49 \pm .14$. Leaving out Whittier and Washington, $r = .54 \pm .13$.

²⁸ In 1937 only one Jew appeared before the Spokane County Juvenile Court. The Jews in this district, however, have a high rate of broken homes, although of the involuntary type. This broken home rate is larger than any other nationality or racial group in Spokane.

²⁵ A partial correlation was also figured for rates of voluntarily broken homes and juvenile delinquency rates, holding constant percentage of homes rented. The resulting coefficient of correlation was $.05 \pm .18$ with all school districts included. When the deviates were dropped from the calculations, the coefficient obtained was practically the same as for all broken homes.

delinquents (60.0) surpasses even the high rate in the general population.

BROKEN HOME RATES IN THE DELINQUENT POPULATION

Another aspect of the problem should be considered here. Are the broken home rates in individual school districts in the general population lower than the broken home rates in the delinquent population? In the vast majority of the school districts there is a much larger percentage of broken homes in the delinquent group than there is in the control group. Of the thirty districts in which there were sufficient numbers of cases to calculate broken home rates for the delinquents, twenty-three showed broken home rates anywhere from five to forty-eight points higher than in the control group. In four other districts the differences between the broken home rates in the delinquent and in the control groups were not significant, varying only one or two points. Three of the districts, one of which was Washington, showed a preponderance of broken homes in the control group.

BROKEN HOME RATES IN THE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION

In order to be sure that deviations in the broken home rates of the foreign born were not hidden in the insignificant correlation coefficient found between percentage of foreign born and delinquency rates, Table II was compiled. When nationality is broken down into six categories, the following rates of broken homes occur. None of the rates in Table II differs significantly from the rate of 24.0 for the total group when tested by the formula for significance of a rate.²⁹

On the basis of the above data it seems unnecessary in Spokane to standardize the control group with the delinquent group

so far as nationality is concerned, for purposes of comparing the percentages of broken homes. There is, on the basis of these figures, no significant difference in the percentages of broken homes among the various nationality groups in Spokane. This may be due to the fact that in Spokane the foreign born groups are largely British and Northern European whose culture is somewhat analogous to our own,

TABLE II
BROKEN HOME RATES ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY

	TOTAL	NUMBER OF BROKEN HOMES	PERCENT BROKEN
Native Born.....	1,423	337	23.7
British.....	119	36	30.3
German.....	37	11	29.7
Scandinavian.....	89	18	20.2
Italian.....	41	9	22.0
Others*.....	84	20	23.8
Total.....	1,793	431	24.0

* Nationalities which number less than 25 have been grouped together under this category.

whereas in Shaw's study they are largely Central European³⁰ and of widely different

³⁰ A comparison of some of the Shaw figures with the Census figures would seem to show that his districts were not representative of the nationality groupings in the general population. In his sample comparison group Shaw has only 5.1 percent native white, whereas the *Fifteenth Census of the United States* shows the native white to be 67.4 percent of the total population in Chicago. The six categories which are used as nationality or racial groups are also either over-represented or under-represented in the sample. The percentages which Shaw used are as follows: Negro, 20.4 percent; Italian, 24.8 percent; Polish, 22.5 percent; Greek, 3.0 percent; Mexican, 3.1 percent; others, 20.0 percent. (*Report on Causes of Crime*, op. cit., p. 267.) The Census percentages for these same groups are: Negro, 6.9 percent; Italian, 2.2 percent; Polish, 4.4 percent; Greek, .44 percent; Mexican, .57 percent. No mention is made of the British and German populations which constitute 3.8 percent and 3.3 percent respectively of the total population in Chicago. Jews have been omitted from Shaw's classification because no Census figures are available for this group.

²⁹ $R_1 - R_2 > 3\sigma \sqrt{(R_1 - R_2)}$.

culture.³¹ And in Chicago the different nationalities are more localized than they are in Spokane.

BROKEN HOME RATES AND THE ECONOMIC FACTOR

A comparison of the control group with the delinquent group in Table III seems to indicate that where families rent their homes there is no significant difference in the broken home rate. Where families

TABLE III

BROKEN HOME RATES AMONG RENTERS AND OWNERS IN DELINQUENT AND CONTROL GROUPS

	RENT		OWN	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<i>Delinquents</i>				
Broken Homes.....	60	42.0	56	40.6
Non-Broken.....	83	58.0	82	59.4
Total.....	143	100.0	138	100.0
<i>Control Group</i>				
Broken Homes.....	51	36.7	63	22.3
Non-Broken.....	88	63.3	219	77.7
Total.....	139	100.0	282	100.0

Note: Only those cases were used in which information was known as to homes rented. For purposes of study a random sample of one out of five was picked from the control group of 2,119 cases. This sample was tested against the whole group and no significant difference found.

own their homes, however, there is a significant difference between these two groups: 22.3 percent from broken homes in the control group as compared with 40.6 percent from broken homes in the delinquent group. In other words, for every individual in the control group coming

³¹ Dr. Sheldon found no appreciable difference in the coefficients of correlation between delinquency rates and percentage of native white even after segregating the group of foreign born most culturally akin to the native white group. *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

from a broken home there are 1.82 delinquents from broken homes, almost twice as many.

Another attempt was made to isolate the economic factor, using father's occupation as a control. The delinquent and non-delinquent groups were compared to determine what percentages of broken homes would be obtained in each of these groups if father's occupation were held constant.

This table shows that when father's occupation is divided into two categories,

TABLE IV

BROKEN HOME RATES ACCORDING TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION IN DELINQUENT AND CONTROL GROUPS

	PROFESSIONAL AND WHITE COLLAR WORKERS		LABORERS AND UNEMPLOYED	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<i>Delinquents</i>				
Broken Homes.....	33	28.4	98	37.0
Non-Broken.....	83	71.6	167	63.0
Total.....	116	100.0	265	100.0
<i>Control Group</i>				
Broken Homes.....	25	15.3	40	20.4
Non-Broken.....	138	84.7	156	79.6
Total.....	163	100.0	196	100.0

a much higher percentage of broken homes occurs in the delinquent group than in the control or non-delinquent group; and that this is so in both occupational categories. The percentages for the white collar group are 15.3 percent from broken homes in the control group as contrasted with 28.5 percent from broken homes in the delinquent group. Expressing these percentages as a ratio it was found that, holding constant the professional and white collar workers, there were 1.85 delinquents from broken homes for every non-delinquent from a broken home. A slightly lower

ratio was found for the laboring and unemployed group (1.81).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPOKANE AND CHICAGO

Starting from relatively the same percentages³² of broken homes in the delinquent and in the non-delinquent groups as Shaw and McKay found in Chicago, the Spokane study reaches quite different conclusions.

The Spokane study, in contrast to the Chicago study, shows a definite relation of broken homes to geographic location in the city.³³ The highest rates occur in the central areas of the city and the lowest rates on the periphery.

The Spokane study shows an appreciable correlation between broken home rates and delinquency rates.³⁴ Why does the Chicago study not show a significant correlation in this regard? It occurs to the writers of this article that the Chicago study may have included certain school districts in its sample of twenty-nine which were not representative of the general population so far as broken home rates were concerned, even though they were picked to be "representative of widely varying delinquency rates and

different economic status areas."³⁵ Certainly in Spokane, if some of the districts in which a high association existed between delinquency and broken home rates had not been used, and the three which showed no association had been used, the correlation would have been reduced to insignificance.

Although Shaw and McKay found nationality to be associated with broken home rates in Chicago,³⁶ the Spokane study shows no correlation between percentage of foreign born and rates of broken homes nor between percentage of foreign born and delinquency rates. Even when the foreign born are divided into six nationality categories, the rate of broken homes in no case differs significantly from the rate for the total population.

CONCLUSIONS

It would appear, then, from the foregoing analysis that, in Spokane at least, broken homes are associated with geographic location and with delinquency rates, even when the economic factor is held constant; and not associated with percentage of foreign born. Though the data here presented have been gathered from reliable sources of information and have been checked for accuracy whenever possible, the resulting conclusions must be recognized as merely tentative because of the small numbers used in calculating percentages for some of the factors in individual school districts. Further investigation and data for other years might make it necessary to reformulate some of these conclusions. It is suggested that comparable studies be made in other cities to determine whether the conclusions can be substantiated.

³² The Spokane study shows 41.4 percent of the delinquents from broken homes and 26.7 percent of the non-delinquents from broken homes (*supra*, p. 49); the Chicago study, before standardization of rates, shows 42.5 percent from broken homes in the delinquent group and 29.0 percent from broken homes in the sample of twenty-nine school districts. These districts were selected as being representative of the range of delinquency rates. *Social Forces*, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

³³ *Social Forces*, *op. cit.*, p. 523; *Report on the Causes of Crime*, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

³⁴ When all school districts were used the coefficient of correlation was twice as large as that found in Chicago, and three times as large when the three districts which deviated were dropped from the calculations.

³⁵ *Social Forces*, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

³⁶ *Report on the Causes of Crime*, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO READING AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

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FREQUENT references are made to the rôle which formal education of the farm operator and his wife may play in contributing to the success or failure of the farming enterprise. Some studies¹ have indicated significant relationships between school grades completed and economic status; others have indicated no such relationship. The present study demonstrates closer relationships between educational status and certain cultural activities of families than between education and gross cash income and total crop acres farmed; two criteria which are indicative of economic achievement in the area studied.

In Table 1 is shown the distribution of the farm parents according to their educational status.² The owner husbands

and wives completed 4.9 and 5.9 grades respectively, whereas tenant husbands and wives completed 4.6 and 5.8 grades respectively.³

TIME SPENT READING VARIOUS TYPES OF LITERATURE

The time which the farm parents devoted to reading newspapers and magazines each week is presented in Table 2. The distributions are skewed toward the lower ends of the scales, indicating that the amount of reading done by the modal group of farmers is very small. The large standard deviations indicate a wide variation in reading behavior.

The coefficients indicating the relationships between number of school grades completed and time spent reading newspapers by the farm husbands and wives are $.36 \pm .03$ and $.33 \pm .04$ respectively for the owners and $.21 \pm .04$ and $.17 \pm .04$ respectively for the tenants. There is considerable relationship between educational status and the time spent in reading magazines. The coefficients indicating the relationship between these two variables for farm husbands and wives respectively are $.21 \pm .04$ and $.31 \pm .04$ for the owners and $.33 \pm .04$ and $.39 \pm .04$ for the tenants. The coefficients indicating the relationships between educational status as measured by school grades completed and the total hours⁴

¹ Walter W. Wilcox, et al., "Relation of Variations in the Human Factor to Financial Returns in Farming," University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 188, University Farm, St. Paul, June 1932, p. 11. Wilcox found no marked relationship between educational status and net incomes of the record-keeping farmers in his study. He cites one study of master farmers in Missouri which similarly reports a lack of relationship for these items but cites another Missouri and a New York study which demonstrate significant positive relationships. More recently other studies have demonstrated a positive correlation between educational status and total annual value of living. See Social Research Reports Nos. X, XI, XII, and XIII, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

² The data which furnish the basis for the study were collected in the summer of 1929 when the author and a group of field men interviewed 14 percent of the white farm families and 15 percent of the total white farming population of Wake County, North Carolina. The field men entered the different townships by all the many roads and interviewed the farmers with no conscious idea of selection in mind other than to include a proportionate number of owners and tenants.

³ Two explanations for the similarity of educational status of owner and tenant parents are: (1) A relatively large proportion of tenants (20 percent) are related to their landlords and are therefore potential owners; (2) Owner parents are on the average approximately 11 years older than tenant parents.

⁴ Includes time spent in all reading of current literature, books, bulletins, and the Bible.

spent in reading by the farm parents are $.35 \pm .03$ for both owner husbands and wives and $.31 \pm .04$ and $.56 \pm .03$ for the tenant husbands and wives respectively.

TABLE 1

PERCENT OF 311 WHITE OWNER AND 256 TENANT FARMERS AND THEIR WIVES WHO HAD COMPLETED VARIOUS STAGES OF SCHOOLING IN WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1929

NUMBER OF GRADES COMPLETED	PERCENT			
	Husbands		Wives	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
None.....	11	14	7	7
Fourth Grade.....	60	62	71	75
Elementary School...	31	31	45	46
High School.....	8	4	13	10
College.....	2	0	2	3

which they subscribed is not high.⁵ However, the coefficients $.19 \pm .04$ and $.21 \pm .04$ for owner husbands and wives respectively and $.20 \pm .04$ and $.17 \pm .04$ for tenant husbands and wives respectively may indicate at least a slight relationship between these two factors.

The relationship between the number of weekly newspapers to which these farmers subscribed and their educational status is slight. For the four groups under consideration none of these relationships is greater than .18 and the smallest is .11. However, the relationship between educational status and number of magazines to which the owner and tenant farm families subscribed is relatively high. The coefficients between

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK SPENT IN READING NEWSPAPERS AND GENERAL MAGAZINES BY 311 WHITE OWNER AND 256 TENANT FARMERS AND THEIR WIVES IN WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1929

NUMBER OF HOURS	NEWSPAPERS				GENERAL MAGAZINES			
	Husbands		Wives		Husbands		Wives	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
0-1.9	89	112	99	118	198	191	186	186
2-3.9	80	56	105	84	80	51	72	42
4-5.9	61	50	47	27	21	10	24	20
6-7.9	56	30	47	22	9	4	16	6
8-9.9	6	1	7	2	1	0	3	0
10-11.9	5	3	3	1	0	0	3	0
12-13.9	5	2	0	0	1	0	3	0
14-15.9	5	1	2	1	1	0	3	1
16 and over	4	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
Average Number, hours..	3.78	2.59	3.10	2.16	1.38	.90	1.95	1.30
Standard Deviation.....	3.69	2.89	2.99	2.42	1.91	1.39	2.82	2.17

SUBSCRIPTION TO NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Table 3 indicates the frequency of subscription to different types of reading material. The relationship existing between the number of school grades completed by the farm husbands and wives and the number of daily newspapers to

these two factors, $.36 \pm .03$ and $.40 \pm .03$ for owner husbands and wives respectively

⁵ These and other distributions are skewed and exhibit wide deviations about their respective means. The uncoded data were used throughout the analyses. See "Correlation and Machine Calculation" by H. A. Wallace and George W. Snedecor, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Ames, Iowa, June 1931, for method used in calculation.

and $.18 \pm .04$ and $.30 \pm .04$ for tenant husbands and wives respectively, indicate that those who have received the most formal education have subscribed for the most magazines. Many of the periodicals in the homes studied were farm magazines.⁶

There seems to be little relationship between the educational status of the parents and the amount of money they spend for the formal education of their children. The highest relationship for the four groups between these two variables is

$.23 \pm .04$ for the husbands and $.34 \pm .04$ for the wives.

The correlation coefficients indicating the relationship between school grades completed and gross cash income of the family for owner husbands and wives and tenant husbands and wives were $.06 \pm .04$, $.07 \pm .04$, $.13 \pm .04$ and $.20 \pm .04$. The coefficients indicating the relationships between school grades completed and number of acres in crops for these same groups were respectively, $-.05 \pm .04$, $-.007 \pm .04$, $.08 \pm .04$, and $.12 \pm .04$.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF DAILY AND WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES TO WHICH 311 WHITE OWNER AND 256 TENANT FARMERS SUBSCRIBED, WAKE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, 1929

NUMBER OF SUBSCRIPTIONS	NUMBER OF FAMILIES					
	Daily Newspapers		Weekly Newspapers		Magazines	
	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants	Owners	Tenants
0	57	104	246	213	79	106
1	246	149	52	38	86	76
2	8	3	11	3	70	42
3	0	0	2	1	35	17
4	0	0	0	1	20	5
5	0	0	0	0	10	5
6 and over	0	0	0	0	11	5
Average Number of Subscriptions.....	.84	.61	.26	.20	1.72	1.15
Standard Deviation.....	1.66	.51	.55	.50	1.66	1.48

$.17 \pm .04$. Neither is the relationship between educational status and amount of money spent for reading materials by the tenants close. The highest relationship between these factors is $.18 \pm .04$. However, the educational status of the owners is more closely related to the amount of money spent for reading materials, as indicated by the coefficients

Relationships between the educational status of the owner and tenant parents for the above mentioned and other factors pertinent to their social, cultural, and economic life have been studied by cross tabulation, plot diagrams, and correlation coefficients.

By way of conclusion the following statements may have significance:

1. Educational status was more closely related to the time parents spent reading and the number of magazines for which they subscribed than it was to gross cash

⁶ In case current literature was purchased from a newsstand, the family making such purchases was given credit for subscribing for the magazine if purchased with sufficient regularity.

income and total crop acres farmed. Indications are that higher educational attainments on the part of the parents studied might have resulted in more reading activity. That higher educational attainments would have resulted in higher incomes is less certain.

2. The number of hours parents spent reading was not closely related to gross cash income. The highest coefficient indicating a relationship between these two factors was $.16 \pm .04$ for tenant husbands.

3. Annual expenditure for reading materials is not in all cases more closely related to time the parents devote to reading than is their educational status.

Correlation coefficients indicating the relationships between the total hours the parents spend reading each week and the annual expenditures for reading materials was $.31 \pm .04$ for both owner parents and $.42 \pm .04$ and $.53 \pm .04$ for tenant husbands and wives respectively.

4. If education does increase reading activity on the part of farmers, it is in a measure fulfilling that portion of society's division of labor which it is expected to fulfill even though such reading may not increase incomes. This is true if we do not question the assumption that, other things being equal, the person who reads has a higher level of living than the person who does not.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL AWARDS

The Social Science Research Council has released the following:

Eighty awards, totalling more than \$88,000, for the academic year 1939-40, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York.

Ten of the awards, carrying a basic stipend of from \$1800 to \$2500, plus travel allowances, cover post-doctoral research training fellowships to men and women under thirty-five years of age who possess the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent. These fellowships are granted for the purpose of enlarging the research training and equipment of promising young social scientists through advanced study and field experience.

Nineteen appointments are pre-doctoral field fellowships, which carry a basic stipend of \$1800. The recipients are graduate students under thirty years of age who have completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. degree except the thesis. These fellowships are intended to supplement formal academic study by opportunity for direct contact with the materials of social science not available in the classroom or library.

The remaining fifty-one awards are research grants-in-aid, designed to assist mature scholars in the completion of research projects already well under way. Such grants average about \$600 and do not ordinarily exceed \$1000. Ten of these appointments were made through a special fund specifically granted for the purpose of assisting and encouraging the research of social science faculties in the South. The objectives and requirements for eligibility are the same as those governing the national grants-in-aid, but applications are restricted to fourteen southern states.

The countries where studies will be carried on include the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Poland, Russia, Finland, Switzerland, Turkey, China, Japan, French West Africa and various islands in the Pacific.

The awards of the Social Science Research Council provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, political, social and economic history, cultural anthropology, social psychology, geography and related disciplines.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

TRAINING FOR PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK: I. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK*

MARION HATHWAY

The American Association of Schools of Social Work

PREPARATION for professional practice which is common both to public and private social work has been profoundly affected by the expansion in the scope of the public social services and by the demand for a personnel equipped to meet new responsibilities which these services have occasioned. For a brief period of nineteen years the American Association of Schools of Social Work has united the schools of social work in one organization where a close relationship to the field of practice has been maintained and where experience has been shared in an effort to develop educational objectives germane to professional practice. The point of view of the Association towards preparation for the field of social work either public or private can be found in the standards for admission to membership which have been applied to the thirty-eight schools within the organization¹ and in the reports of Curriculum Committees issued

over a period of years.² From these several sources, a few trends have been selected for special comment.

PREPARATION FOR FUTURE PRACTICE

Pre-requisites for admission to the schools of social work, while of interest since the early development of professional curricula, became a subject of increasing importance as the trend toward university affiliation and toward professional education at the graduate level became definite and accepted in the field. In January 1937 the Association established the graduate basis for the approval of all professional curricula. Subsequently, in May of that year, the Curriculum Committee recommended that economics, political science, psychology, and sociology (including social anthropology), be recognized as pre-professional subjects most closely related to the social service curriculum.³ While approving a concentration in one and a less amount of work in the others, the Committee did

* Read before the fourth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, in Atlanta, Georgia, March 31, 1939.

¹ Constitution and By-Laws, AASSW (Pittsburgh, 1939, Mimeographed).

² The American Association of Schools of Social Work; History and Objectives, AASSW, Pittsburgh 1938.

³ Pre-requisites for Admission to Schools of Social Work, Reprint from *The Social Service Review*, 11: 1937. 471.

not designate any one of the four subjects as in general more important than any other, believing that a broad foundation in the subject matter of the social sciences was of first importance. This report to the Association has been used as a guide by the professional schools and by liberal arts colleges in planning a sequence of courses suitable for the preparation of students contemplating graduate study in one of the schools of social work.

The professional curriculum at the graduate level with which the American Association of Schools of Social Work is primarily concerned includes two academic years of professional study leading to a professional degree. Although some degree of specialization is encouraged in the second year, the entire curriculum is heavily weighted with generic content developed from the basic methods of case work, group work, and community organization, to which are related research and field practice. A professional school recognizes these methods as basic both to the public and to private practice. Certain adaptation of content, however, is sound.

(a) *Methods Courses.* As case work, group work, and community organization have come to be recognized as the basic methods in the field, there has been an increasing tendency to maintain the content of such courses as generic. Specialized case work courses determined largely by agency function have been replaced by generic courses which emphasize the understanding of the individual and which stress agency function as a way of illustrating the fields of social treatment which utilize the case work method. Teaching materials in basic case work, therefore, will be drawn from public and private agencies, from family and child welfare agencies, from rural and urban communities. Experimentally certain

schools have offered courses in Case Work Procedures in Public Assistance, or Case Work in Rural Communities, but the tendency is to regard case work as a method which is general and which can be applied whether agency function is limited to individualized service to the applicant for old age assistance, or whether it is applied to a treatment relationship on a voluntary basis in a child guidance clinic.

Group work and community organization have been less affected by a trend toward specialization. These methods, however, are relatively new and have been developed since apprenticeship in a particular agency has been replaced by formal preparation for professional practice. Certain deviations have appeared in these fields, such as courses in Group Work for Case Workers, or Group Work in Rural Areas, but usually these efforts have been experimental and have been later abandoned in favor of a more generic approach as other subject matter has been organized as a frame of reference for these courses.

(b) *Subject Matter from Related Fields.* Medicine and law are related professional fields from which subject matter has been adapted for the curriculum in social work. While courses are informational and are offered by instructors qualified in their own fields, the adaptation of materials for this purpose has involved not only the exclusion of much content which is peculiar to practice in the allied professional field, but also the emphasis upon resources for referral and upon the social work implications of practice. Psychiatry as a branch of medicine has been introduced into the curriculum as a means of developing further understanding of human behavior. The tendency is to adapt materials which emphasize normal rather than abnormal behavior development.

Courses from the disciplines of economics, political science, and sociology offered by related departments for use by the school of social work should be based on certain prerequisites in these subjects if the school has been able to establish admission requirements. Pertinent examples are courses in labor problems, taxation, and public finance from economics; courses in social institutions and regional planning from sociology; courses in public administration from political science. The schools of social work have, however, experienced certain problems in the use of such courses. Liberal arts colleges have not provided certain prerequisite courses in these fields. Over-specialization in the undergraduate years frequently brings to the school students who have concentrated in sociology to the exclusion of other social sciences. Frequently graduate courses, especially in economics, have been presented from a classical approach, and the schools of social work have found it necessary to develop special courses such as the "economic basis of insecurity" in order to acquaint students with the relationship of economic change to social work services.

(c) *The Subject Matter of Public Welfare.* Public assistance, public organization for child care, public welfare administration, constitute subject matter which is peculiar to the field of social work and such courses should be elected by students who anticipate practice in the public field. The present tendency in the majority of schools is to require such courses of all students whether or not employment in the public field is contemplated.

(d) *Research.* Social statistics and the methods of social research constitute important tools in public welfare administration. Ideally, statistics should be a prerequisite for admission to the pro-

fessional school. Practically, however, few students have completed such a course in the undergraduate years. Even so, the application of method to social data is important enough to justify the offering of a course in social statistics in the graduate school which will emphasize the limits, interpretation, and use of social data by practitioners in the field. Individual research leading to the thesis is stressed in all schools offering the Master's degree. At the moment, however, there is considerable disagreement with reference to thesis objectives for students preparing for professional practice.

(e) *Field Practice.* Field work carried concurrently with courses affords an opportunity for the application and testing of theory. Practice in the setting of a public welfare agency is becoming an accepted part of the training of all students, whether or not they intend to enter the public field. At the same time, diversity in field work is important in order to acquaint the student with method of practice in a variety of agency functions.

These comments on curriculum have included no reference to specific courses in rural public welfare and social work. The importance of rural social work practice is recognized especially as new schools are being established in areas primarily rural and as the demand for workers in certain of these areas is very great. Although conceivably study of the subject by the Curriculum Committee may modify policy, the present trends in the schools of social work are *first* to view methods courses as generic to practice, wherever it is found, and to introduce materials in group work, case work, and community organization which relate to rural as well as urban practice; *second*, to develop field practice centers in rural as

well as urban areas, so that the application of theory may be related to resources; and *third*, to utilize courses in economics and sociology to provide the social-economic setting in which social work programs are to be developed.

Similarly, no reference has been made to specific courses in administrative practices. Frequently the schools are criticized for their failure to train administrators for the public field. The need of administrative skill is not overlooked. The belief exists however that this skill can be developed best through a mastery of practice, since the administrator must know something about agency practice he attempts to direct. The administrative aspects of the job are also important to each staff worker if he is to perform effectively. Thus the methods courses are being modified here and there to include the administrative component as pertinent content for all students.

Nor will the curriculum just suggested satisfy those who emphasize specific preparation for specific agency function and who urge this approach as a means of bridging the gap between education and practice in the field. If, however, social work is to be a profession, education for practice must be based on content which can be applied generally with, of course, due reference to the setting to which it is to be related.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXISTING STAFF PERSONNEL

A demand for personnel far in excess of the available supply of workers prepared in the professional schools and salary anticipations not yet commensurate with the cost of graduate study explain the presence in the field of a large number of individuals lacking formal preparation but who have by now accumulated several years of agency experience. The desire

of an agency for a higher standard of performance on the job, the eagerness of the individual worker for promotional advancement, and the wish for professional status which will permit him to participate as a member of the professional association in the field are all factors which must be considered among the objectives of a staff development program.

As urged by the Association of Schools, such a program includes in-service training, the allowance of agency time for extension courses and leaves of absence for study in schools of social work. Inasmuch as in-service training is an agency function to be developed in terms of agency needs, the school of social work contributes only as the agency asks for assistance. Usually this assistance is in the area of advice or cooperation in the development of the plan. Where the school has attempted to play a leadership rôle in the in-service training program of the agency, confusion has frequently followed, due principally to a difference in objectives, as between agency and school.

For staff workers who are allowed agency time for courses in a nearby school of social work, the schools will attempt to schedule basic courses at convenient hours and in logical sequence, so that individuals as yet unable to undertake work in residence at the school may take at least a few steps toward completion of their professional education. Experience indicates, however, that certain courses are more suitable than others for this purpose and that the amount of part-time work completed by each student can well be limited. The present tendency in the schools is to offer fewer such courses and to give more individual counselling and guidance to the part-time students.

Educational leave for study in a pro-

fessional school is not yet an accepted policy in the agencies of the several states. The leadership of the United States Children's Bureau and the Social Security Board, however, have shown what can be done in this direction. Students on educational leave frequently are enrolled in the schools for short periods such as a semester or two quarters. Frequently they come with requests for specific training in specific fields, only to find the school emphasizing preparation basic to many fields. These experiments to be successful require a close working relationship between the schools and the agencies so that policies can be clarified and individual student's needs met in terms of best performance in the future.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SCHOOL AND THE FIELD

The gradual development of personnel standards in terms of state residence and the salary anticipations in the field have confronted the schools of social work with peculiar problems. Critics of present standards of the Association of Schools have maintained that the content of practice in public assistance does not and will not justify professional preparation at the graduate level for a long time to come. To this, the following excerpt from the Third Annual Report of the Social Security Board is a partial reply:

Decisions of this type (financial eligibility) and many others which affect the lives of persons who are living on the margin of subsistence require capacity to observe, evaluate, and, to the greatest possible extent, to harmonize the often tangled and apparently conflicting interests of public policy and personal relationships. They underscore the need of permanent experienced personnel in the staffs of State and local public assistance agencies and for a level of education and training which will ensure that these staffs have both a mastery of the necessary professional skills

and a broad and unbiased understanding of the purposes of the program and of the individuals with whom they are dealing.⁴

The salary criticism is less easily answered. Substantial gains in salary levels have accompanied the extension of social services under public auspices. Yet, in the distressed areas of the country, little progress can result from local efforts alone. Granted, however, that these areas may be the same in which problems of dependency are great, it is not too much to hope that the requisite professional skill will be provided through some method of equalizing cost through grants-in-aid for administrative expense.

A more fundamental problem, however, is the scope of the field for which the schools should be preparing. To study this question the Association of Schools has received a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. New social services have appeared, with personnel demands not yet clearly defined. While graduates of schools of social work have been recruited in large number by these agencies, the extent to which the existing schools should expand curriculum offerings in these areas is not yet certain. Whatever the answer, it will no doubt be found in the extent to which an integrated curriculum of courses, field work, and research utilizing the methods of case work, group work, and community organization can be effective in preparing personnel for these services. For this integrated curriculum based on subject matter of the social sciences and offered in a setting conducive to professional growth is the essential contribution of the schools of social work to education for the field.

⁴Third Annual Report, Social Security Board, 1938, p. 106.

EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK: II. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY*

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ATTEMPTING to chart a course for the first school of social work in this country to give primary emphasis to public welfare, the leading thinker, then and now, in the United States, in the total area of the field, in 1920 wrote into the catalogue of the School of Public Welfare of the University of North Carolina the following statement:

To meet the specific needs of the State and the University and, as far as possible, the South, a four-fold service was planned. The first emphasizes instruction in Sociology and Social Problems. . . . The second emphasizes training for social work and community leadership, with special reference to town, village and rural communities, and with special application to the State of North Carolina and the South. . . . The third aspect of the work emphasizes direct and indirect community service, or social engineering through the avenues of community leaders, county superintendents of public welfare, local and district conferences, and community planning for leaders, for industrial managers, and others. The fourth aspect emphasizes social research, scientific inquiry, and publication of results estimated to be of value to the State, the University and to the general field of public welfare and social progress.¹

A little later Professor James H. Tufts, in the May, 1923, number of *The Journal of Social Forces*, wrote:

Two somewhat different groups of persons engaged in education approach this task from somewhat different angles but with a similar outcome. The original schools of social work were organized in close relationship to the various philanthropic

agencies something as schools of nursing were connected with hospitals. This close relationship was doubtless advantageous at the beginning in the respect that when the profession was in the making it kept the instruction in the school in close relationship to the needs of the field and afforded an opportunity for emphasizing practical field work. But the limitations of schools so conceived are obvious and the tendency has been to seek better preparation on the part of candidates and a broader scientific basis of training. Another group of educators have had the problem presented to them as that of proper development of their subjects and applications of these. Just as state universities have been led to develop departments of engineering and medicine in close connection with the work in pure mathematics, physics, and biology so departments of sociology, economics, and political science have felt the need of developing the schools of social work as the field in which the social sciences would find their natural outlet. In addition to this more purely academic drive there has doubtless been an influence from the general strengthening of service to the community on the part of state universities. Institutions directly supported by the public have naturally been sensitive to direct possibilities of serving the public in manifold ways; just as they have trained physicians, dentists, engineers, agricultural advisors, teachers of domestic arts, so they have felt it appropriate to give preparation in social work. Approaching the problem from a university point of view they would naturally be governed less by the concrete needs of philanthropic agencies than by the resources in the way of staff and laboratory facilities which their institutions afford. In universities which make graduate work an important feature the tendency would be to place emphasis on research in the training for social work.²

Writing at about the same time, not precisely from the point of view of the State University, but in a journal connected with such a university—*The Journal*

* Read before the fourth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta, Georgia, March 31, 1939.

¹ School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina, Catalogue, 1920-1921.

² James H. Tufts, "Some Larger Aspects of Social Work," *The Journal of Social Forces*, I, 360 (May, 1923).

of *Social Forces*, September, 1923—Franklin H. Giddings admonished the social worker:

Don't deceive yourself with the notion that you can understand what your nation, or your town, or your neighborhood, or your family, *does*, or why it does it, until you have had the patience to learn what it *is*, or with the notion that you can learn what it is in any other way than by painstakingly resolving it into component units and scrutinizing them. Short cuts to a knowledge of society and to proficiency in helping it through tribulations will yield you nothing, and get you nowhere.³

Antedating all of these somewhat, Dr. Arthur James Todd, of the University of Minnesota, in *The Scientific Spirit of Social Work*, 1919, had written:

Science is both an attitude and a technique. The attitude... can be cultivated without teachers, books, or colleges. The technique, particularly social technique, may be had from the literature of economics, political science, and sociology in their applied aspects.⁴

Continuing his discussion of education for social work, in 1926, in a little volume entitled *Public Welfare and Social Work*, written in response to a request from county superintendents of public welfare for a suggested course of reading, Dr. Odum pointed out two trends:

There is, on one hand [he wrote] a continuing tendency to develop the specialist and the technician within the subdivisions of the whole field of social work. There is, on the other hand, a growing consensus of opinion that many of the strongest social workers of the future will be general leaders of community and society, trained in the technique of social leadership...⁵

It will be seen, therefore, [he continues later in the discussion] "that one of the most important tasks of social work is that of utilizing the social sciences in the study and working out of its social problems

in much the same way as the physical sciences have been utilized to develop good roads, factories, and the other varied phases of material development. Just as the great advances made in physics, chemistry, engineering, and other physical sciences have contributed to the marvelous development of economic and material welfare, so economics, sociology, history, government, anthropology, social psychology, statistics, jurisprudence, and the other social sciences must be utilized in the scientific adjustment of social relationships. Just as the loyal and devoted efforts of the physical scientists, working faithfully over long periods of time have been rewarded by great success, so the zeal and persistency of the social scientists must ultimately bring to bear upon social work great contributions of value. Social study, social research, social work—all must go hand in hand in the new era of the development of human relationships.⁶

In *Social Forces* for May, 1934, in an article entitled "Where the Sociologist and Social Worker Begin," he continues a slightly different aspect of the same thesis:

What the new ideals of public welfare have been striving for since 1920 now appear, if not of immediate attainment, at least to have ample beginning. That is, social work and public welfare are far more than mere techniques of relief and emergency adjustment; their philosophy underlies the very fundamentals of American government, and their techniques as never before involve technical ways and means "for making democracy effective in the unequal places"...

The question facing both social workers and sociologists is whether they can now attain sufficient comprehensiveness and breadth of understanding of the natural culture and problems, on the one hand, and on the other hand, practical and realistic, as well as abstractly scientific methods of study and work as will enable them to supply just what is demanded by the present crisis in American life. For it must be clear that in proportion as the nation adopts more and more of the planned society there will be need of increasing ratios of sound, actual, practical technical ways of those things which the emergencies of the nation demand. National charity can be no substitute for social reconstruction.⁷

³ Franklin H. Giddings, "The Scientific Scrutiny of Societal Facts," *The Journal of Social Forces*, I, 510 (September, 1923).

⁴ Arthur James Todd, *The Scientific Spirit of Social Work*, p. 85.

⁵ Howard W. Odum, *Public Welfare and Social Work*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30.

⁷ Howard W. Odum, "Where the Sociologists and Social Worker Begin," *Social Forces*. XII, 465 (May 1934).

And a little farther on this sentence suggestive of Giddings: "Men who did not *know*, could not *do*."⁸

In like manner the report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 1933, the chapter on *Public Welfare*, supports the philosophy of education for social work which involves a thorough knowledge of the social sciences:

Technically, the emerging needs appear to be: (1) a more adequate public relief, adapted in principle and methods to meet the demands of social change and emergency and economic cycles and depression; (2) the development of a plan for social insurance which will guarantee security and eliminate more and more the strain of social hazards and fear; and (3) social planning which will bring to bear the fullest utilization of social science and social research and their application through social work and public administration.

The demand for an effective application of the social sciences to welfare work may be likened to the emergence of social science in the 1860's and 1870's. As a result of a call by the Massachusetts Board of State Charities in 1865 the American movement for composite scientific attack upon problems of society was inaugurated with the establishment of the American Social Science Association. Thereafter there were several state associations and many local groups and subsequently the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1874, which became the main organization after 1879. The social sciences, however, became professionalized and departmentalized, so that, for the time being at least, the original plan to apply social science to social planning and special practical problems of social welfare did not materialize. There is much in the present trends in public welfare which offers a similar and more dynamic challenge to social science to apply its findings to government and social organization.⁹

These excerpts from the writings of eminent scholars and thinkers, all but one of them immediately concerned with programs of education for social workers in state universities are evidence of one of the trends pointed out by Professor

Odum and of a significant and widespread point of view in state universities as to what should be the basic characteristic of education for social work. But Dr. Odum pointed out a second trend. As Professor Tufts suggested the earlier schools of philanthropy grew directly out of the private agencies. They were a sort of expansion of the apprenticeship system. This idea of learning by doing has continued to occupy a place of paramount importance in the minds of many of those concerned with education, or, as they perhaps would prefer to say, training for social work. Some of those prominent in the field of social work education, apparently, have attached no great significance to the admonition of Professor Giddings that there is no short cut to an understanding of social problems, or to the warning of Professor Odum that from the point of view of dealing with problems involving either social relationships or personal relationships, in the field of social work, especially, a little learning is a dangerous thing.¹⁰ This theory of education for social work as an adaptation of the apprenticeship system or a development from that system has been the dominant one in the American Association of Schools of Social Work. Occupied with training for the private social work agencies the majority of the schools were apparently unaware in the period from 1920 to 1932 of the impending shift in the importance of private social work as compared with public social service, or of the implications of that shift as to the type and scope of education that would be needed. Those thinkers mainly in state universities who were acutely aware of what was happening were not merely "pioneering in public welfare,"—a phrase frequently on the

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁹ President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, II, 1271.

¹⁰ Howard W. Odum, *Public Welfare and Social Work*, p. 44.

lips of Dr. Odum; they were often voices crying in the wilderness.

Then 1932, 1933, 1935 came and found us fearfully unprepared to man the rapidly expanding programs of public social service. One result was to arouse the state universities to action in protest against the attitude of the old-line schools. In 1936 after observations, conferences, and correspondence with state universities throughout the nation, Dr. Odum, in a memorandum to the American Association of Schools of Social Work at its meeting in early summer in Atlantic City, summarized the position of the universities. I quote items from that memorandum bearing most directly on the general theory of education for social work.

The points on which the Association and the universities seem to agree are:

1. That professional work should be primarily for graduates;
2. That adequate field work supervision must be provided;
3. That thorough family case work taught by well trained faculty members, should be featured.

Beyond this the universities, in accordance with policies and practices involved in providing a body of knowledge, techniques, and services within a university administrative set-up, go further.

They do not see the need or desire for complete separateness of social work curricula from economics, sociology, public administration, political science, and other allied fields. They point out that this . . . is contrary to present-day university trends toward integration.

They point out that it is not always consistent with best practices or with administrative practicability to segregate the full time of faculty members who teach in the curriculum of social work.

This separateness does not contribute to the better understanding and coordination of social work in the university curriculum. . . .

They feel further that appointments to the faculty for social work instruction should be made on the basis of personnel with university training and

experience commensurate with other members of the faculty.¹¹

In a private letter dated December 9, 1937, a distinguished sociologist, himself a recognized authority in at least two specialties within the general field of public welfare, head of the Department of Sociology in a state university with long recognized national leadership in interest in the whole field of public social services, goes farther than any of those already quoted:

How do we know that a graduate student with an M.A. or a Ph.D., with fine training in political science, sociology and economics is not able to do a good piece of work even though he may not have had the holy hands of an orthodox social worker placed upon him in heavenly benediction? I wonder if the social workers are not making a great many assumptions which have not been tested as to their truth at the present time.

Finally, from a letter dated January 7, 1938, sent to heads of Departments of Sociology in state universities throughout the country, by Dr. J. J. Rhyne of the University of Oklahoma, I summarize assumptions and declarations as follows:

He protests what he believes is a deliberate movement "to wrest control of the public welfare training program from sociologists and departments of sociology in spite of the fact that sociologists were among the founders of the whole movement," and to prevent state universities from training the personnel in the federal-state social security program. He believes that the approved program of study is not adapted to the newer field of public welfare. The curriculum is too rigid, composed too largely of technical social work courses, with too little opportunity for "content courses dealing with the

¹¹ Howard W. Odum, Manuscript Copy of Memorandum to American Association of Schools of Social Work, May 9, 1936.

social and economic conditions in the area." Emphasis should be on "a wide range of subject matter in economics, sociology, political science and psychology." Instructors for such a curriculum should rank in scholarship with teachers in other graduate divisions of the university.

These excerpts from spokesmen for state universities covering a period of twenty years show a rather consistent and unchanging point of view. Two points of emphasis have been noted. The social work curriculum should form an integral part of the graduate curriculum and therefore conform to the same standards as other graduate work. A knowledge of the nature of the problems with which the social worker must deal is of first importance. The social sciences, therefore, should form the basis for the social work curriculum.

This does not mean the ignoring of the social work techniques. In fact, the leading thinkers in the state university group have insisted upon the importance of technical courses taught by technicians. In *Education for Social Work*, the first book on the subject to be published, in 1921, Dr. J. F. Steiner, then Professor of Social Technology in the University of North Carolina, wrote:

A great mistake will be made by the universities that have recently become interested in education for social work if they believe that the addition of a field work course to their traditional courses in social science will equip them for professional instruction.

Where their influence is particularly needed is in giving greater emphasis to intellectual standards. The curriculum of schools of social work has been built up almost entirely by practical workers whose emphasis has chiefly been laid on the side of experience. The courses of study have been designed to teach how particular processes should be carried on and definite situations met. Along with this emphasis upon the value of training by doing there

has grown up, if not a distrust of intellectual studies, at least a failure to appreciate their proper place in a scheme of professional education.¹³

Dr. H. M. Cassidy, Director of Social Welfare, Province of British Columbia, Canada, and director-elect of the social work curriculum in the University of California, in his presidential address to the Canadian Conference of Social Work, June, 1938, stressed as "veritably the foundation stones of our social welfare edifice," research and training. Speaking specifically of the needs of Canada he said:

If our schools of social work are awake to their opportunities it is very possible that they can develop into professional training schools for social service administration in the broad sense of the term, which will give students both a general education in social problems and in the social services, along with specialization in some one branch. If this development takes place the schools will become vastly more important than they have been in the past. This point is receiving increasing recognition in the United States, where the programmes of the schools of social work at various universities are being re-organized and broadened along the lines suggested above.

There is no reason to believe that he will change his concept of what should constitute education for social work as he returns to the United States.

Odum, consistently, up to the present, has insisted upon the importance of technical courses as furnishing the media through which knowledge from the social sciences may be applied to the solution of social work problems.

The two "trends" pointed out by Dr. Odum in 1926 have continued in spite of the fact that there have been concessions on both sides. The academicians have won to the extent that it is now required by the constitution of the American Association of Schools of Social Work

¹³ J. F. Steiner, *Education for Social Work*, pp. 44, 45.

that to be eligible for membership in the Association a school must be a part of a college or university which is on the list of colleges and universities approved by the Association of American Universities. This provision, however, was given a very liberal interpretation in one of the most recent admissions to the Association. The technicians have succeeded in securing increased emphasis upon such items of the curriculum as "field work." There has been, too, a noticeable change in the type of directors of social work curricula. Within the last half dozen years, at least four nationally known scholars interested in the broader aspects of social work have retired from the active direction of the social work curricula in their respective universities. Their places have been filled, usually by technicians; in no case by a scholar of equal rank.

In spite of the trend toward the incorporation of the social work curriculum into the university there continues a tendency in opposition to the general trend in education to set up separate *schools* of social work within the university. These separate schools do not necessarily conform to the standards of the graduate division of the institution of which they are a part. There is a tendency, for example, to include in the student's program so large a number of courses as to appear to render impossible serious work on the graduate level. In spite, therefore, of apparent gains, the university group are, it appears, perhaps correctly disturbed not only concerning standards of work within the schools but also lest the schools of social work should repeat the experiences of some other professional groups and find themselves outside the main stream of knowledge in their own field.

Rather closely related to this danger

and furnishing grounds for concern upon the part of both the social worker and the school of social work is a condition now existing. It is interesting to study the list of the names of men and women who hold the important positions in public social work, federal, state, and local, alongside the membership roll of the American Association of Social Workers. At a recent meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, moreover, three new faces were conspicuous among deans and directors. Two of these new directors of social work curricula were educated for the law; became state commissioners of public welfare; and went from public welfare administration to the direction of programs of education for social work. The third is an economist who went from university teaching into public welfare administration and thence to the head of a social work curriculum in a state university. It may be that these things are explained by the fact that modern social work is a new profession. It may be that the small proportion of "professional" social workers in important public welfare positions is chargeable to an ill informed public opinion or to the manipulations of politicians. But it may be, on the other hand, that the schools of social work need to look critically at the type of education they are offering. It may be that Rhyne, and Gillin, and Giddings, and Odum are right in their suggestions that the equipment of the social worker must include a knowledge of the nature of the problems to the solution of which he is supposed to contribute as well as of techniques and formulae for applying such knowledge, and that the curricula of schools of social work need broadening and enriching from the social sciences.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

THE BEARING OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASES ON THE CONSERVATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY*

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NERVOUS and mental diseases have a two-way bearing on the conservation of marriage and the family. Marital and family situations cause or at least precipitate or contribute to mental and nervous diseases. Mental and nervous diseases jeopardize and disrupt marriage and the family. I am going to say something about both of these possibilities.

There are two universal adjustments that every human being is called upon to make: first, the rather severe adjustment, physical and mental, to being born; and second, the adjustment to growing old and to facing impending dissolution or death. Few people make the latter adjustment gracefully or well. There is a third adjustment that is almost universal since the majority of people who reach adulthood meet it. I am referring to marriage. About five out of six adults contract this adjustment so that it can be considered an almost universal one.

Generalizations concerning mental and nervous diseases are difficult and dangerous. Generalizations concerning marital

adjustments are also difficult and dangerous. Therefore, in combining these two problems one faces summated difficulties. In both mental and nervous diseases and in marital adjustments the factors causing these are numerous, multiple, complex, and variable. There are many different causes and many different forms of mental and nervous diseases. Among the causes are found injuries, tumors, physical disturbances, and mental and nervous and emotional disturbances. These latter complicate the problems. They make the subject of mental and nervous diseases difficult for those who have an "organic bias" and this is often the case with medical people. But psychiatry is merely an extension of medicine, and, in order to understand the field of mental and nervous diseases, one must understand the whole field of medicine.

Among the numerous causes of mental and nervous diseases are infections, especially infections of the nervous system. One of the greatest infectious ravagers and destroyers of the nervous system is syphilis. Syphilis is often the cause, not only of mental and nervous diseases, but of marital and family calamities. A mate who infects an innocent married

* Read before the Fifth Conference on the Conservation of Marriage and the Family, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, April 14, 1939.

partner with syphilis or with any of the venereal diseases is very apt not only to ruin the physical and mental health and happiness of the partner, but likely also to ruin a marriage or a family. Unfortunately, this happens too often. It should involve as great social disapprobation and as great punishment as society places upon incest.

Intoxications also cause not only mental and nervous diseases, but act as destructive agents of marriage and the family. The most frequent incident of this is alcoholism. This is particularly a masculine vice. Alcoholism is one of the frequent forms of flights from reality that a male takes. It is frequently the cause of alcoholic psychoses, especially in the male.

I cannot attempt to give a course in medicine and in mental and nervous diseases in such small compass. But roughly, mental and nervous diseases are divided into the severe or major ones, the psychoses, and the less severe or minor ones, the psychoneuroses. In addition, we can extend the problems to the numerous ones of personality. Since there is no one who is perfectly adjusted or without some personality problems, we are able to include everybody.

Marriage means a loss of freedom and an assumption of responsibility. Many are unable to gracefully adjust to this. Marriage and family responsibilities can cause mental and nervous diseases, especially in the unstable and poorly adjusted individuals. The fuss and strain of childbearing and child rearing are too great for many unstable and maladjusted individuals and result often in mental and nervous diseases. Many psychoses are precipitated by childbirth, the so-called "puerperal psychoses."

It sometimes seems that the modern woman is too easily upset or takes too

seriously childbearing and child rearing. This seems especially so when one considers that her great-grandmother, if not her grandmother, had, as a rule, instead of two or three children, ten or twelve. She had to bear and rear these children without any modern conveniences. One wonders if some modern women do not represent some degeneration. It is difficult to obtain information about the incidence of mental and nervous diseases in previous generations, but it is presumed that there were less than there are at the present time, and it seems as if mental and nervous diseases are on the increase.

The "unmaternal" mother represents a difficult problem that is often encountered. By this is meant the woman who objects to childbearing and who is inclined to reject the child after it is born. There seem to be some women who are lacking in the "maternal instinct," and this is a very difficult situation indeed. In some, however, this lack of maternal proclivities does not seem inherent but rather appears to be acquired. In this latter case adjustments can be made more easily. A similar problem is the "undomestic" wife or mother. She is one who does not care to keep house and to perform her domestic duties. Unfortunately, these situations seem also to be on the increase.

The psychiatrist is a medically trained person and as such is apt to be "biologically minded" and to proceed according to the principles of "biological realism." These maintain that a monogamous marriage is—or at least has become—a natural or "instinctive" condition. But at the same time, although it is a "natural" condition, it is not necessarily a sacred one and not one to which a person is necessarily easily adjusted. For instance, the "mating or marrying instinct"

does not seem to have the force and validity of the "hunger instinct." One has to be prepared for a monogamous marriage, and a satisfactory one has to be achieved. One must not be too surprised to find residual tendencies toward polygamy in the male and some polyandry in the female. Counselors in marriage and the family can help prepare for and maintain these monogamous states. They should not be too surprised to find that the states are difficult to achieve and are often not altogether satisfactorily maintained.

The more realistic one is, the less romantic one is apt to be in looking at these matters. Personally, like many physicians and neuropsychiatrists, I am inclined to minimize the "romantic motif" in which it is maintained that there is a specific object which calls for the tendency toward marriage and the creation of a family. Rather, I am inclined to believe that the person gets into a certain attitude (to make love, to get married) and then finds the object. These days we are barraged in the movies, over the radio, in our reading, etc., by the "romantic motif." The young who have not developed their critique and reason especially "fall for this." Perhaps courses and instruction in marriage and concerning the family will inject some reason and thereby act in a way as an antidote.

"Realism" calls for the acceptance of the facts that there are differences between the sexes—physical, mental, emotional, and as to functions, prerogatives, duties, responsibilities, etc. At present we find a disturbed balance or relationship between the sexes. This has followed the changing status of women in which they have obtained greater freedom but, at the same time, increased responsibilities. Some seem to proceed as if there were no differences between the sexes. The male

and the female are not and should not be equal; rather, they are complementary. There should be no question of inferiorities or of superiorities. Men are different and in some ways superior; in other ways women are superior. The greatest example of this is the male inferiority in that he cannot bear a child.

Within the personality psychologists and psychiatrists are especially interested these days in the balance between egotism and altruism. Both have their places. It is merely a question of a correct balance. There is also a great current interest in the balance within the personality between aggression and passivity. It sometimes seems that women are becoming more aggressive and masculine and that men, in a complementary sort of way, are becoming more passive and feminine.

Marriage does not solve problems as much as it creates them. This should be borne in mind in counseling unstable individuals as to marriage. Previously there has been an inclination to advise marriage as a solution to certain personality and social problems without any analysis of the factors and the situation involved. I am afraid that the members of the medical profession have been great "sinners" in this regard. Our newer knowledge should make us hesitate in making similar mistakes.

A somewhat similar problem is involved as to "forced marriages," by which is meant forcing individuals to marry who have been promiscuous and to whom a child thereby is born. There is a misapprehension of the laws in this regard, sometimes even by those who should know better. The law forces no individuals to get married under any circumstances. It would be too derogatory to marriage and the family if this were so. This misapprehension of the law has been a deterrent to promiscuity sometimes in

unmarried couples, but truth and honesty and frankness should force us to correct this misinterpretation.

Since marriage is a somewhat difficult adjustment and all possible extra hazards and strains should be avoided, one should hesitate to counsel marriage in cases where they are too great differences in the couple as to age, race, religion, intelligence, social and cultural status, etc.

There has been a misinterpretation of the "new" or psychoanalytical psychology. It does not teach that all impulses and whims have to be expressed or satisfied. If this is the case a person is not free but is a victim of his whims and impulses. There should be a good balance between freedom and discipline. Sometimes we are free within discipline. All human relationships call for understanding, balance, and a good compromise. The individuality of a person should be respected. There is no reason why in a marriage it has to be destroyed. While there are phases of a married couple's life which must of necessity be in common, there should be parts that are not. The wife should have an opportunity to participate in feminine activities which would not interest the husband; the husband should have a chance to participate in things that are purely masculine. The too-great attachment wherein a married couple are together 24 hours a day and 52 weeks a year is not a beautiful or a good one. A marital vacation of several weeks a year is a good custom.

Laws and conventions are apt to represent the crystallized common sense of the race. They are not always reasonable or rational, and when they are not they can be disregarded or changed. But before this is rashly done it must be remembered that conventions especially are conserving both for the individual and

for the race. Thus, they should not be dispensed with too easily or without due thought as to the consequences.

Often it is thought that psychiatry is predominantly concerned with the major psychoses or the so-called insanities. As a matter of fact, cases of the psychoneuroses or minor emotional disturbances are from twenty to fifty times more numerous than the psychoses, especially in an extra-mural neuropsychiatric practice. The family is the center of the emotional life of its various members. When this ceases to be true, then the family life soon disintegrates. Emotional stresses are apt to become apparent in family life. At the same time, statistics have shown less incidence of mental and nervous diseases among the married and widowed than among the single and the divorced. One should be cautious in jumping to the conclusion that marriage decreases the chance of mental illness. Probably what the statistics show is a tendency for the stable to marry and the unstable to stay single or to become divorced.

In general, both in mental and nervous diseases and in marital maladjustments, one should look for immaturity, insecurity, and frustrations. Special mention is made of immaturity and significantly of emotional immaturity. This can be associated by common sense with selfishness; it can be elaborated by theorizing in the principles of "narcissism."

Parents are often great enemies of the child in that they prevent emotional emancipation and maturity. Common experience can point out to us many incidences of this, many cases in which children have been rendered incapable of making a good marital adjustment because of their emotional immaturity and dependence upon the parents. It is not necessary to elaborate this common occur-

rence into the highly systematic Freudian Oedipus complex.

Incidentally, I am not going to dwell much on sex as a cause either of mental and nervous diseases or of marital maladjustments. Sex often represents an important factor, but we have from many sources, already heard a great deal about this and will doubtless hear more. While frankness is very necessary and beneficial, one must remember that in a group discussion frankness can easily go over into salaciousness. In my experience sexual instruction and problems in sexual maladjustments both in mental and nervous diseases and in marriage are very individual ones which do not lend themselves very well to generalizations and to group discussion and instruction.

In discussing immaturity as to marriage, one must remember that reference is being made to emotional rather than to chronological maturity, and that there is no definite correlation between these. Some individuals are quite mature by 16 or 17 years of age; others are quite immature by 24 or 25. In our modern complex times I do not think that a person is mature enough intellectually, emotionally, etc., to contract a modern complex marriage until around the age of 22 in the male and 20 in the female. I am inclined to think that the pronounced but usually transitory passions before these ages are "puppy love."

One of the most frequent types of cases I encounter in the hospital dispensary is represented by a woman around 30 years of age; she married around the age of 17 and she has been subjected to such hard work and to such a hard struggle that she is old, bedraggled at 30. She is worn out by the bearing and the rearing of four or five children. She looks around and sees some other women of her age who are well preserved and in much better cir-

cumstances. She is regretful and resentful about the fact that she has never had any youth and that she is old before her time. There is a lag in this geographical region between previous social ideas and customs and present conditions. In an agrarian civilization an early marriage was appropriate if not advantageous. In an urban civilization a postponement of marriage seems advantageous if not imperative. This holds especially true if long preparation for a complex career is necessary.

The family represents the heredity and the environment of the child. I cannot forego mentioning heredity although it is a very complex and controversial subject. A discussion of it could be extended into many conferences without arriving at any final conclusions. In the whole discussion of marriage and the family should one think of the good of the individual or of the good of the race? Often these coincide, but then again they are often antagonistic. From the standpoint of individual psychology there are many who should not get married, and from the standpoint of heredity there are many more who should not propagate. While we do not know as much about heredity as we should like, and while we are in no position to apply very definitely what we do know, it is time that we began to use what knowledge we have. There is nothing but grief in the propagation of people who are definitely compromised by heredity. This holds for the parents who create a child who is defective because of heredity and also for the child. Many of the worst wrecks we see in neurology and psychiatry are such because of heredity.

Incidentally, it is unfortunate that we cannot dispassionately survey and appraise the vast biologic experiment that is going on at the present time in Germany, in the

control of the population and in the control of heredity. This much we can certainly say, consanguineous mating or marriage of cousins is so very risky and we see so many very unfortunate offspring of such a marriage that our counsel should be the same as the prohibitions of the Catholic Church in this regard.

There are certain encouraging signs in the improvement of the social outlook and attitudes concerning marriage, heredity, etc. These outlooks and attitudes are better than laws. It is also encouraging that more and more engaged couples seek a pre-marital consultation that includes eugenic prognosis as to possible offspring.

The development in a family of a case of a neurosis or psychosis is one of the greatest calamities that can befall it. One might say that it is more disastrous than loss of wealth or even sometimes than death itself. Even when recoverable, mental diseases usually last some time and entail loss of time and of services and of earning capacities of the affected member. Mental disease is difficult to bear in a family because it is mysterious and not well understood. It must be admitted also that it involves some stigma or disgrace although this is unreasonable and should be avoided. It must be remembered, too, that a member of a family affected by a mental or nervous disease is often difficult to control and makes a cantankerous patient. Some neurotic individuals insist that the whole household be run according to their neurotic disability.

Some chronic psychoses or insanities sap the resources of the family. (Mental and nervous diseases may be chronic just as all diseases can be. While some of them are preventable or curable, others are not.) The practice of mental hygiene is in order to prevent those that can be prevented and to forestall chronicity when this is not absolutely necessary. The disrupting influence of mental and nervous diseases on marriages and upon families is another cogent reason for the practice of more and better mental hygiene. Legally a severe and chronic mental or nervous disease can call for the dissolution of a marriage. It is surprising how comparatively infrequently this occurs. More often the psychiatrist observes the greatest amount of suffering, forbearance and even martyrdom on the part of the "non-mental" partner.

Human relationships, especially as to marriage and as to the family and as to propagation, are mainly emotional and not rational or reasonable. We live in a disorderly world, and there will never be a semblance of orderliness until there is more reason in humans and in human relationships and more control over population. At the same time, we should not get too excited since "the ways of nature" may be erratic, not easily understood and sometimes inscrutable, but still there seems to be some plan of nature both for the individual and for the race which makes too much human planning out of order.

The first NATIONAL CONGRESS OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNECOLOGISTS which met in Cleveland, September 11-15, will seem to students of marriage and the family one of the eventful gatherings of 1939 not only because of its massive program illustrating the widespread attack that the medical and psychiatric sciences are making upon the hazards of motherhood, its large and interesting educational exhibit, effective publicity and splendid attendance, but also because there was such general recognition of the sociological aspects of the maternal health problems. This appeared both in the placing of non-medical addresses on the program and in the discussions of the papers presented by the doctors and nurses. For the first time at such a gathering of medical and nursing specialists the value of instruction in preparation for marriage was stressed as a part of the preventive program in the field of maternal health.

ERNEST R. GROVES

THE FORMS OF ILLEGITIMACY

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MASS attitudes toward illegitimacy are not accidents, but part of a functioning structure. If they condemn illegitimacy it is because the latter somehow runs contrary to the approved institutional machinery. Hence the theory of illegitimacy must answer two crucial questions. First, what is the precise way in which illegitimate procreation affronts or deranges the institutional machinery? Second, why does the machinery itself exist? The present article aims chiefly to answer the first question, but a brief introductory paragraph will be devoted to the first.

A society, in competition with other societies and with nature, can survive only if its members, through their activities, perform certain social functions. These functions will not be performed except as the activities are organized—that is, integrated in a systematic fashion. Any existent society then will possess an institutional structure through which its functions are performed. This structure, consisting of patterns of relationship and activity, will exist not only in overt behavior but also in the minds of the constituent individuals, for men are so constituted that they must be *taught* the patterns and *motivated* to observe them. In short, there will be obligatory cultural norms which define and stamp with approval the expected patterns. These norms, conceived generally in absolutistic and mystical terms, will in most cases be planted so early and so deeply in the psychic constitution that the individual will take them as part of himself, condemning without thought and without respite those who depart from such be-

havior. Thus any society will have in its hands, in addition to physical coercion, a mental whip with which to flay the aberrant person—namely, the loss of status in the group. Yet since no social structure is entirely integrated, or the norms entirely consistent, or the expected behavior fully consonant with fleshly desire and capacity, actual behavior will frequently diverge from the professed norms. When this happens, condemnation in one form or another will generally descend upon such divergence and serve as a motivating force to bring the erring person back to group reinstatement through regular mechanisms existing for this purpose. The condemnation will therefore be an integral part of the functioning institutional system.

One part of the social structure will be that through which the reproductive function is performed—namely, the set of familial institutions. Despite its indispensability procreation is not welcomed whenever and however it occurs, but only when it occurs in accordance with familial patterns. If this activity were not carried out according to given normative patterns, the function of reproduction could not be socially guaranteed, the necessary coöperative behavior in caring for children could not be organized, and reproduction could not be integrated with other functional activities. Any society will therefore possess a set of reproductive institutions by means of which procreation will be publicly regulated and systematically tied up with the myriad other activities and functions within the social organism. Procreation outside the familial patterns will in-

evitably be condemned, for without such condemnation the structure itself could not exist and the society could not operate.

ILLEGITIMACY VIOLATES FIVE NORMS OF REPRODUCTIVE INSTITUTIONS

Illegitimacy obviously violates the central principle of family structure—i.e. what Malinowski calls the "principle of legitimacy," the universal social rule that "no child should be brought into the world without a man—and one man at that—assuming the role of sociological father, that is, guardian and protector, the male link between the child and the rest of the community."¹ Without this general rule, to which many others are subsidiary, there would be no family; hence it is as universal and fundamental as the familial institution. But in order to understand illegitimacy we must analyze its effect upon the institutional machinery more specifically than this. Consequently our treatment distinguishes five major norms which are violated by illegitimate birth. The norms, which serve as a basis for the classification of the forms of illegitimacy, are as follows: (1) the rule of post-marital procreation, (2) the requirement of non-adulterous procreation, (3) the law of non-incestuous procreation, (4) the rule of caste endogamy, and (5) the principle of non-reproduction in celibate groups. One may therefore restate the general principle of legitimacy in this way: No child shall be born whose parents, by procreating him, will be violating one or more of the five norms of family structure.

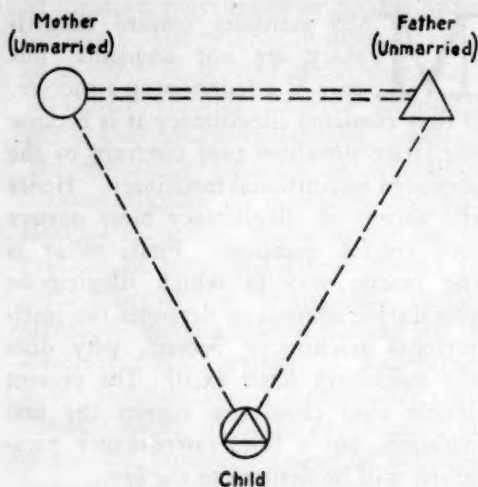
THE FORMS OF ILLEGITIMACY

According as they violate one or another of these norms, we shall now discuss,

¹ B. Malinowski, "Parenthood—The Basis of Social Structure," in V. F. Calverton and S. D. Schmalhausen (editors), *The New Generation* (New York, 1930), p. 137.

with appropriate diagrams, nine distinguishable types of illegitimacy.

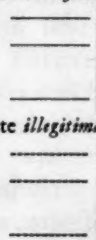
(A) VIOLATING THE PRINCIPLE OF POST-MARITAL PROCREATION. *Type I: Illegiti-*



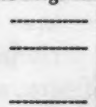
TYPE I. SIMPLE FORNICATION*

* The system of symbols used in this and the following diagrams is as follows:

Solid lines indicate socially recognized relationships:



Broken lines indicate illegitimate relationships:



Circle indicates female: ○

Triangle indicates male: △

Vertical or nearly vertical single lines indicate parent-child relationships:



Horizontal single lines indicate sibling relation:



Twin lines (usually horizontal) indicate sexual relationships:



macy as a Result of Simple Fornication. Perhaps the most frequent type is illegitimacy resulting from simple fornication. It is the kind implicitly assumed in much of our thinking about the subject. But there are four subtypes that must be carefully distinguished: (1) the case in which the sexual relation between the mother and father is transient, unaccompanied by any form of durable or friendly social contact, as in promiscuity and casual prostitution. (2) The case in which there is a liaison, a continued relation between the father and mother, but no intention of matrimony. (3) The case in which the couple live together and pose before the community as married. And (4) the case in which illegitimacy occurs during betrothal. These four subtypes of simple illegitimacy differ considerably in the amount of social disapproval directed at them. With the first kind the identification of the father is virtually impossible, and, if identified, his relation with mother and child is apt to be a purely financial, enforced one. If the father is completely unknown and the woman completely promiscuous, there is no way of telling which type of illegitimacy we are dealing with. It may be any of the types subsequently to be described, and this fact undoubtedly contributes to the public distrust of anonymous parenthood. The promiscuous configuration, moreover, represents an extreme opposite of the family norm. Hence this subtype is apt to be strenuously disapproved.²

² Roman law generally placed children of promiscuous intercourse, *spurii sine patre*, in the lowest order of illegitimate offspring—along with adulterine and incestuous children. They had none of the privileges of children born in durable unions where the mistress or concubine was *retenta in domo*, nor any chance of legitimation by subsequent marriage of their parents. R. Genestal, *Histoire de la légitimation des enfants naturels en droit canonique* (Paris, 1905), pp. 105-33.

The second kind of simple illegitimacy often resembles, during the intimacy of the partners, the marital norm, though the birth or threatened birth of a child frequently disrupts the relation. If there is an easy way for mother and child to settle into a family configuration, the illegitimacy may not be greatly disapproved, depending upon the culture. Though in our culture it is usually more damaging to a man to be a party to a liaison than to be promiscuous, this is only because in the liaison he is more exposed to identification and litigation. The third sort of simple illegitimacy, "marriage except in name only," usually does not arouse sharp opposition. It readily merges into "common law" marriage. The fourth subtype, illegitimacy during betrothal, is also generally taken lightly. In many cultures indeed it represents a normal precondition of marriage, there being an understanding that marriage will occur when a child is born. Intercourse during betrothal, sometimes miscalled trial-marriage, is extremely frequent. In Teutonic and Celtic lands the custom of "night-courtship" under such names as *Probenächte*, *fensterln*, *Kiltgang*, *band-fasting*, *bundling*, etc. not infrequently resulted in pregnancy with the understanding that this would ensue in marriage.³ Even where this form of illegitimacy is condemned, the child is not permanently branded as illegitimate, because in such cultures legitimation by subsequent marriage is almost universally permitted.⁴

³ See Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Philadelphia, 1913), VI, 380-86.

⁴ Until the passage of the Legitimacy Act in 1926 England was a notorious exception.

If in many cultures the birth of a child prior to marriage causes no great stir, provided the couple do marry, we should expect mere conception prior to marriage to arouse little more than gossip. This is true. A recent study showed that in a Utah county for three decades about 20 percent of first

Our first type of illegitimacy is thus distinguished in several ways. It exists in one form or another in all societies. It is condemned or tolerated in different degrees according as its specific forms are distant from or near to the familial norm. But, in general, two of its traits mollify it in the eyes of the community: first, the parents may marry, and second, the illegitimate union does not interfere with an existing marriage. The fourth subtype, illegitimacy during betrothal, is seldom condemned and seldom leads to permanent bastardization of the young.

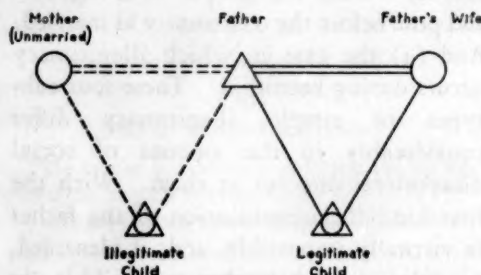
(B) VIOLATING THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-ADULTEROUS PROCREATION. Our second, third, and fourth types of illegitimacy fall under the head of adulterous procreation. In contrast to simple illegitimacy they are all distinguished by the fact that the claims of the bastard endanger an existing legitimate family and that the illicit parents may not marry without the destruction of this family by death or divorce. Hence adulterous illegitimacy is more generally disapproved in all three of its forms.

Type II: One-Sided Adultery, Father Married. The procreation of a child by a married man and an unmarried woman

children were conceived before marriage; and another study showed that in Amsterdam around 29 percent of them were. H. T. Christensen, "The Time-Interval between Marriage of Parents and the Birth of Their First Child in Utah County, Utah," *Amer. J. of Soc.*, XLIV (Jan. 1939), 521; J. H. Van Zanten and T. van den Brink, "Population Phenomena in Amsterdam," *Population*, III (Jan. 1939), 13.

But occasionally a culture requires that the parents go through a sort of ceremonial purification. J. G. Leyburn writes that "the Church throughout New England passed rules prohibiting the baptism of a child born less than seven months after the marriage of its parents, unless the father and mother made public confession of their fault." *Frontier Folkways* (New Haven, 1935), p. 24.

is probably next to simple illegitimacy in frequency. Ruth Reed finds that the majority of both illegitimate mothers and illegitimate fathers are single, but that more such fathers are married than mothers. Specifically, 3.4 percent of the mothers were married (an additional 2.4 percent separated), while 25.8 percent of the fathers were married (an additional 2.4 percent separated). Though these figures conceal the true situation because of the ease with which married women can hide the paternity of their offspring, they nevertheless indicate that this kind of adulterous illegitimacy is probably



TYPE II. ONE-SIDED ADULTERY: FATHER MARRIED

more frequent than either of the kinds in which the mother is married.⁵

While custody and care, as in most other cases of illegitimacy, are thrown upon the mother unless she can rid herself of the infant by secret abandonment or adoption, the father's liability is limited to support, because so far as inheritance and succession go he has responsibilities to a wife and legitimate children. But though this kind of illegitimacy is generally disapproved, more so than simple

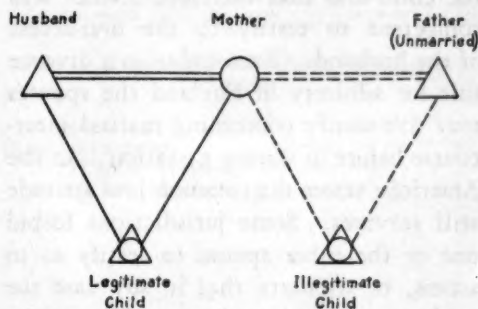
⁵ *The Illegitimate Family in New York City* (New York, 1934), pp. 112, 164. D. F. Puttee and M. R. Colby give very similar figures in *The Illegitimate Child in Illinois* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 63, 96; as do E. O. Lundberg and K. F. Lenroot in *Illegitimacy as a Child-Welfare Problem*, Part II (Children's Bureau Publication No. 75, Washington, D. C., 1921), pp. 45-46, 207-08.

illegitimacy,⁶ it contains no danger of the illicit children being confused with the legitimate, as is the case in the two other types of adulterine illegitimacy. By an ancient principle—part of the entire position of women and hence of the “double standard” in patrilineal cultures—illegitimate children, like slave children, are more readily identified with the mother than with the father. Since in this case of the unmarried mother there is no chance of confusion, this form of illegitimacy is condemned less than the next two adulterine types.

In many cultures strong motives are apparently present which lead unmarried women and married men to form liaison arrangements. This is attested not only by the frequency of this arrangement, but also by the widespread tendency to institutionalize it in the form of concubinage. When it is not legalized in the form of the concubinate, our second form of illegitimacy is naturally increased, whereas in a society permitting concubinage many married men who would otherwise take illicit mistresses will take legal consorts instead, and many young women who would otherwise be single will be taken as concubines. Thus concubinage tends to reduce illegitimacy. Actually the legitimation of children born to a married man and an unmarried woman, a measure sometimes proposed, would be tantamount to the legal recognition of

concubinage. Humanitarians generally fail to see this, but it was observed in the parliamentary debates in France, 1793.⁷

Type III: One-Sided Adultery, Mother Married. The next form of adulterous illegitimacy appears to resemble the preceding type, but in fact is quite different. The difference may be stated in the following way. Because of the closer biological connection of mother and child in human reproduction, the mother's identification with the child is hard to avoid, while that of the father is not only easy to conceal but is often unknown both to himself and the woman. When the illicit mother is married she is under no necessity of concealing her maternity, but can save



TYPE III. ONE-SIDED ADULTERY: MOTHER MARRIED

her reputation by hiding the child's true paternity—that is, by passing it off as her husband's offspring. In this event the situation will be that of a normal family, and every society seems in one way or another to encourage this outcome—a fact which is demonstrated by a widespread legal rule, the *presumption of legitimacy*.

We may almost say that every child born to a married woman is in English common law the legitimate child of her husband. Our law shows a strong repugnance to any inquiry into the paternity of such a child. The presumption of the husband's paternity is not absolute, but it is hardly to be rebutted.⁸

⁶ The disapproval manifests itself in the legal discrimination against adulterine children. The French law of both the old regime and the Revolution penalized them more than simple illegitimates. Roman law included adulterine children (*nefarii*) among the *spurii*, born *ex damnato coitu* and having only the right to eat. The British parliament specifically excepted them from the advantages of the Legitimacy Act. Crane Brinton, *French Revolutionary Legislation on Illegitimacy 1789-1804* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 8, 28, 50; Gestal, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-28; S. P. Breckinridge, *Family and the State* (Chicago, 1934), pp. 421-35.

⁷ Brinton, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸ Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* (Cambridge, 1899), II, 398.

This presumption was stretched to absurdity in the common law principle known as the "doctrine of the four seas."

Under this doctrine it was presumed that a husband had had access to his wife if he were anywhere within the jurisdiction of the King of England. By this fiction, although a man had lived in Ireland previous to and during his wife's pregnancy in England, the child conceived and born in his absence would be deemed legitimate . . .⁹

This rule was modified in 1732 to allow rebuttal by showing that it was not possible for the husband to be the actual father of the child. But in 1777 it was held that neither the husband nor the wife would be permitted to bastardize the child and that therefore neither was competent to testify to the non-access of the husband. Even today in a divorce suit for adultery in England the spouses may not testify concerning marital intercourse before or during gestation. In the American states the common law attitude still survives. Some jurisdictions forbid one or the other spouse to testify as to access, or stipulate that in any case the evidence as to non-access must be stronger than in ordinary presumption of fact. Furthermore, if there was access there is no way (outside of the birth of a mulatto child) of legally proving illegitimacy, no matter how flagrant the adulterous history of the wife.¹⁰

When a society attributes no importance to physiological paternity, all children born to a married woman are the legitimate offspring of her husband, and hence neither the present nor the next type of illegitimacy exists in that society. But when a society regards physiological

paternity as a supreme value and an indispensable ingredient in fatherhood, both forms of adulterous illegitimacy in which the mother is married not only exist but also are regarded, because of the imminent danger of concealment, as one of the worst kinds of illegitimacy. If the mother is married the child is sociologically identified with her husband, and it is convenient to assume that the infant is also physiologically his. Not only is it convenient, but the bias which any society must feel in favor of the effectiveness of its own norms makes the assumption imperative. The wife's marital fidelity, in fact, is supposed to ensure the truth of this assumption. Yet for all this, the assumption may not be true, because the inferential character of physiological paternity makes it possible for her to conceal the child's illicit conception. But if the mother is single, her inability to conceal her own pregnancy and parturition (except through drastic measures such as disposal of the child on a doorstep, in a turnbox, or in a river), ensures that the child will be branded as illicit, for it cannot very easily be represented as the child of some other woman. Obviously, in the case of a married illegitimate mother, it is less troublesome to the official agencies of society if the concealment of paternity succeeds than if it fails. This, added to the fact that a society must assume the effectiveness of its own norms, accounts for the unwillingness of the law to have the children of a married woman proven illegitimate.

But at the same time the mores of patrilineal societies in which physiological paternity is considered supremely important encourage husbands to protect themselves against possible deception. Husbands must be perennially on the lookout for possible adultery. Such compulsive power does this preoccupation have

⁹ Puttee and Colby, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

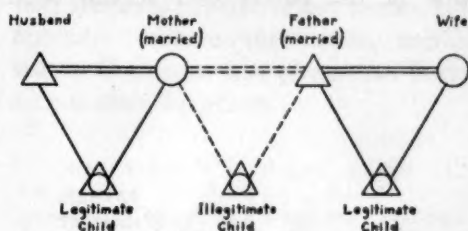
¹⁰ For a detailed history of the law in Illinois, brilliantly presented, see *ibid.*, chs. iii and v. For a general survey of the presumption of legitimacy in U. S. Law, see C. Vernier, *American Family Laws* (Stanford, 1939), IV, 150 ff.

in our culture that we have built theories of the family's origin on the assumption that primitive man invented exclusive monogamous wedlock in order to be sure his children were really his own. In the bargain we have assumed that our form of jealousy is instinctive. Thus not only do husbands receive the onus of enforcing the rule of legitimate paternity, but they are socially encouraged to be jealous, the public helping them by calling attention to "compromising situations." The husbands are given license to deal summarily with the wife's paramour, especially if the latter is caught in the act. In every way then society motivates individual husbands to enforce the societal norm, to make the fact of the wife's reproductive behavior square with the assumption of legitimacy. It is no wonder that cases in which a married woman bears a known illegitimate child are said to be, from the social worker's point of view, extremely hard to handle.¹¹

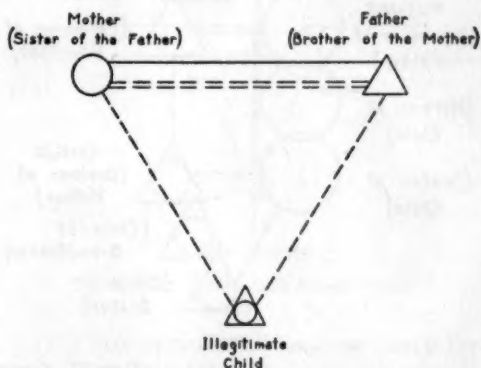
Type IV: Symmetrical Adultery. The final pattern of adulterous illegitimacy, a symmetrical or balanced type, adds little that is new. Legitimation by subsequent marriage becomes doubly difficult, because two prior divorces are necessary for its attainment. The double violation might suggest that this form of illegitimacy would be condemned more severely than any previous type, but it is doubtful if this is true, because of the possibility of a balanced relationship wherein the husband of the illegitimate mother and the wife of the illegitimate father decide to work out a compensatory intimate relationship between themselves. In this event the total configuration would approximate wife exchange, a practice which is institutionalized in many societies, the children being members of their mother's family. In any case the offended husband

and the offended wife may coöperate against the illicit relationship of their mates.

(C) VIOLATING THE INCEST TABOO. Incestuous illegitimacy differs from previous types in that the parents are related by a socially recognized kinship bond which precludes marriage or sexual intercourse. The birth of a child therefore results not simply in illegitimacy but also in the internal disruption of an existing



TYPE IV. SYMMETRICAL ADULTERY: EACH PARTY MARRIED



TYPE V. BROTHER-SISTER INCEST

family structure. There is a confusion of rôles, a conflict of emotional attitudes, and a stimulus to sexual rivalry in relationships from which society sedulously seeks to exclude sexual passion.

Type V: Brother-Sister Incest. To see the point one has only to analyze brother-sister incest, and observe that in case of offspring the man is simultaneously both father and uncle to the child, the woman simultaneously both mother and aunt to it. The child in turn is nephew or niece,

¹¹ Breckinridge, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

as well as son or daughter, to each of the parents. The brother-sister relationship, furthermore, as socially defined, is incompatible with sexual expression, and when the presence of other siblings is assumed, disruptive sexual rivalry among the children becomes a dangerous possibility. The birth of a child to a brother and sister creates a family within a family, a cancerous growth upsetting the original organism and leading to exaggerated concentration of the family unit within itself.

of view of social solidarity) as a highly destructive force, leading to excessive isolation of internal units. Popular belief almost universally views brother-sister incest as a situation fraught with dire consequences, and the law unremittingly discriminates against the offspring.¹²

Type VI: Father-Daughter Incest. Confusion of rôles and sentiments is even more pronounced in father-daughter incest. Figures 1 and 2 in the illustration show the

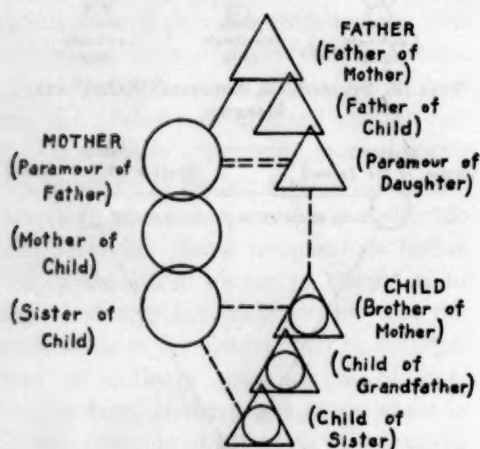


FIG. 1

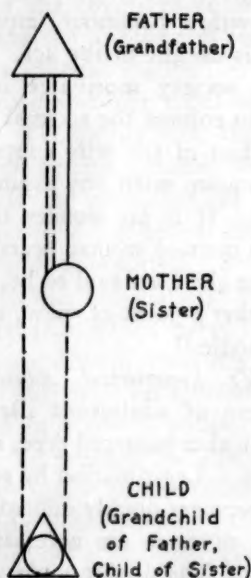


FIG. 2

TYPE VI. FATHER-DAUGHTER INCEST

Furthermore, no society is constituted exclusively by a single family, and hence none is free from the necessity of maintaining interfamilial solidarity. Therefore, since marriage is everywhere an efficient means of cementing group relations, the exogamy of the immediate family as well as the unilateral kinship group plays an indispensable rôle in societal cohesion. Incestuous procreation, representing an extreme degree of familial introversion, acts (from the point

incompatible statuses of the family members when an illegitimate child comes to

¹² Incestuous and adulterine children are frequently placed in the same category, both being distinguished from simply illegitimate or "natural" children. The following passage from Louisiana law is typical. After allowing natural children to acquire property from the parents by donation or will, it makes the following reservation: "Natural fathers and mothers can in no case dispose of property in favor of their adulterine or incestuous children, unless to the mere amount of what is necessary for their sustenance, . . ." Vernier, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

such a union. In Figure 1 each member is shown playing at least three conflicting rôles. The child, for example, is the brother of his mother, because he and his mother are both children of his father; he is at the same time his sister's child, and the grandchild of his father. The mother belongs in the same generation as the father by virtue of her union with him and their mutual relation to the child, yet she is also clearly a generation below the father, since she, like the child, is descended from him. Of course she is both a generation above her child and again in the same generation as he. That such confusion would disrupt the family structure becomes exceedingly clear. To complicate the picture still more one would have only to include the other relatives in the immediate family; and if one wished to be extreme one could imagine that the mother of the illegitimate child (daughter of the child's father) were married to another man—thus combining father-daughter incest with adulterous illegitimacy (Type IV).

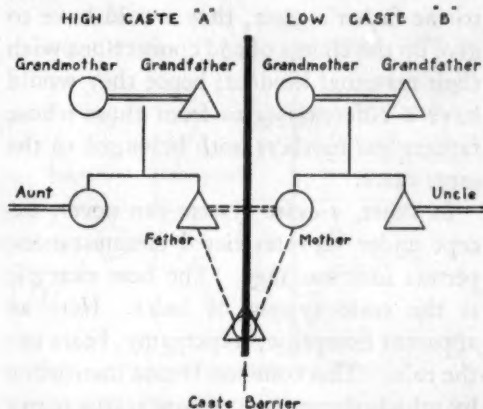
Figure 2 emphasizes the fact that the illegitimate child is the grandchild of its own father. In other words, in parent-child incest there is confusion of the generations, consequently of the authoritarian relationships between the generations. The father is father and mate of his daughter, father and grandfather of his child, and (not represented) husband and son-in-law of his wife.

So strong is the incest taboo that intercourse between father and daughter, as compared to adultery or fornication, does not take place frequently.¹³ When it

¹³ That it occurs oftener than generally believed seems abundantly evident. J. A. and R. W. Goldberg, *Girls on City Streets: A Study of 1400 Cases of Rape* (New York, 1935), ch. vii, give an account of a number of such cases and record (p. 295) that 36 out of the 1400 instances of "rape" involved the father and 26 cases involved a stepfather. See also Mali-

does take place, moreover, the daughter is often too young to conceive. Hence this form of illegitimacy is not numerically very significant.

Type VII: Mother-Son Incest. Illegitimate progeny born of a mother-son union receive a status no different from those born of a father-daughter union. This kind of illegitimacy, in patrilineal cultures at least, probably occurs less frequently, because since men customarily take the sexual initiative and women more regularly observe the mores, mothers seduce their sons less often than fathers seduce their daughters.



TYPE VIII. INTERCASTE ILLEGITIMACY

(D) VIOLATING THE NORM OF CASTE ENDOGAMY. *Type VIII: Intercaste Illegitimacy.* The caste barrier precludes ordinary interaction, on a basis of social equality, between members of different castes. Numerous restrictions maintain the division, but the greatest of these is the prohibition of intermarriage. The structural basis

nowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London, 1927), p. 66, concerning European peasants. Also J. C. Flügel in *The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family* (London, 1935) attests the frequency of this form of incest and cites (pp. 194-5) a report of the Chicago Vice Commission in 1911 to the effect that of 103 girls examined no less than 51 reported receiving their first sex experience at the hands of their father.

of this prohibition is easy to see if for the moment we suppose it not to exist. Were free intermarriage (in contradistinction to other forms of non-invidious social interaction) permitted, a peculiar situation would result. The caste barrier would prevent the relatives of the two partners from associating on a basis of equality (see illustration), yet marriage generally implies social equality between the mates and between the families of the mates. As for the offspring, what status would they have? They would be in fact as well as in name "half-castes," being exclusive members neither of the father's nor of the mother's caste. If admitted to the father's caste, they would have to give up the claims of and connections with their maternal kindred; hence they would have a different status from those whose fathers and mothers both belonged to the same caste.

In short, a caste system can never, except under very restricted circumstances, permit intermarriage. The best example is the caste system of India. Here an apparent exception, hypergamy, bears out the rule. This common Hindu institution by which the women of low status marry men of higher status, is not an inter- but an intra-caste matter. The ranking is that of different clans or groups within the caste, not that of different castes.¹⁴ By nature the caste, as different from the clan, is endogamous. Hence unions that take place across caste lines and the children born of them are usually defined as illicit. In the Hindu system even concubinage is generally forbidden as between castes. In the accompanying diagram the illegitimate child is represented as a split personality, his illegitimacy being fundamentally due to his position as a half-caste, which makes him really an outcaste.

¹⁴ E. A. H. Blunt, *The Caste System of Northern India* (London, 1931), pp. 46-47.

The citizen caste of ancient Athens was protected by the rule that only children of a father and mother who were both members of this caste could qualify as citizens. Others were illegitimate, hence this separated the citizen caste irrevocably from the foreigners in the city on the one hand and the slaves on the other.¹⁵ The Roman law forbidding *conubium* between members of the different strata—patrician, plebeian, freedman, and slave—are too well known to receive comment.¹⁶ The superposition of racial castes often results from conquest, with an accompanying efflorescence of intercaste illegitimacy. An excellent description of the genesis of such a caste system is contained in I. D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*.¹⁷ This author shows clearly that with the coming of white men to South Africa intermarriage with the black natives was not forbidden; in fact when the natives were baptized, it was encouraged. Even unmarried unions between white and black did not bar the children from becoming members of the white community. But gradually as the numbers of the whites grew, as the sex ratio became more even, as lines of conflict crystallized, the black natives sank to the status of an inferior caste, the whites solidified as the superior one. In this situation all half-breeds came to be regarded as illegitimate since their parents could not marry, and they were actually called "Bastards" as a

¹⁵ J. Donaldson, *Woman, Her Position and Influence in Ancient Rome* (London, 1907), pp. 50-51.

¹⁶ They are discussed in scholarly manner in P. E. Corbett's *The Roman Law of Marriage* (Oxford, 1930), pp. 24-44. Children born *ex inaequali conjugio* were illegitimate and, much like *incesti* and *nefarii*, were open to greater condemnation than the *naturales*, partly because (in times when Roman law permitted it) they could not be legitimized by subsequent marriage of the parents. Genestal, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-131.

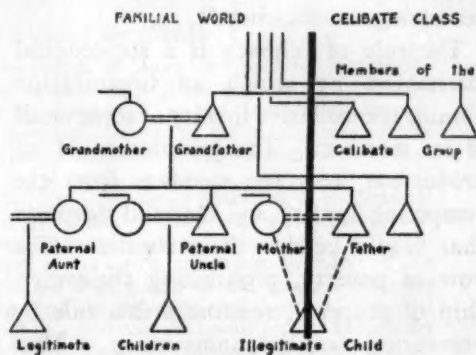
¹⁷ London, 1937, Part I.

group name. There was a tendency, much to the discomfort of those who had previously married black persons, to place legitimate half-breeds in school and army with the illegitimate persons, thus implying, once the caste attitude had arisen, that no person could be a legitimate descendant of both castes.

In the United States today the illegitimate child of white and colored parents is the butt of special discrimination by both the Negro and the white castes. For instance, though illegitimate children generally may inherit from the mother, Florida has a statute that this is not the case when the children are born of a union between white and colored persons.¹⁸ When, on the other hand, the juxtaposition of different races does not produce a caste system, there can be no intercaste illegitimacy. This has been the case in Hawaii.¹⁹ A caste system is impossible when there is free intermarriage.

(E) VIOLATING THE VOW OF CELIBACY.
Type IX: Celibate Class Illegitimacy. The last major type of illegitimacy, that of a celibate class, bears a faint resemblance to the preceding type, except that now we are dealing not with two complete social levels but with one restricted class of persons set off from the rest of the society. The celibate class (particularly from a familial point of view) is not a complete social world. Every member of this class derives from the non-celibate world, a familial world of marriage, children, descent, and inheritance. Since the latter is the only realm where procreation is legally encouraged, it produces the individuals who later enter the celibate

group. The members of the celibate class are terminal points: they descend legitimately but they do not procreate legitimately. Hence it follows as a corollary that they cannot marry legitimately. Their celibacy inheres not in sexual abstinence (which the celibate class at times eschews), but in non-marriage and non-procreation. These, implying legitimate descent, inheritance, and succession, are contrary to the nature, purpose, and function of a celibate class. Consequently any child born to a member of this class has an ambiguous status. He cannot be a member of the celibate class, because the membership is presum-



TYPE IX. CELIBATE CLASS ILLEGITIMACY

ably drawn from the legitimate members of the citizenry. Above all he cannot inherit his father's position. In the lay world he is also a creature set apart, by virtue of the non-marriage of his parents.

Inheritance was the point over which the Medieval Church had its hardest fight. The power of familial habits in a world organized on the basis of family life, plus the close connection between the irrepressible sex impulse and procreation, render it extremely difficult to maintain a celibate class. Hence such aids as isolation from mundane affairs, strong indoctrination, rigid discipline, and monosexual housing are employed. In spite of

¹⁸ Vernier, *op. cit.*, p. 190. See also H. S. Daggett, *Legal Essays on Family Law* (Baton Rouge, 1935), ch. i.

¹⁹ R. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York, 1937).

these aids the Church was forced to fight for centuries to stamp out illegal concubinage among the clergy and to eliminate the inheritance of benefices by the illegitimate sons.²⁰ The Roman Empire had similar troubles in its attempt to enforce the rule of non-marriage for the rank and file of its army. The turning point came under Hadrian when the practice of recruiting at the various legion headquarters was started. Young men from the army camps enrolled, and many of these were the illegitimate sons of soldiers. "There ensued a kind of hereditary succession in the military profession." It is not improbable that the loss of celibacy in the Roman army was a factor in decreasing its efficiency.²¹

The rule of celibacy is a sociological mechanism by which an organization contains the exclusive loyalty of some or all of its members. The prohibition of reproduction frees the members from the competing loyalty and material devotion that would be due their families. The vow of poverty, prohibiting the ownership of property, reinforces this rule by preventing familial inheritance. Thus ideally the celibate class is a realm in which kinship plays no part. The members are not bound one to another by kinship ties, but instead are held in unity by a common membership in a strong organization. They do not perpetuate themselves except through perpetuating the organization.

THE FUNCTIONAL INTERPRETATION OF THE TYPES OF ILLEGITIMACY

The nine types of illegitimacy so far described, while they fail to exhaust all possible forms,²² still represent more

varieties than will be found in every society. Some social systems, because of their simplicity or other peculiarities, lack the requisite institutions. Most primitive societies, for example, cannot support a celibate class and hence are not bothered by our last type of illegitimate configuration. Other cultures, most of them primitive, place no value upon physiological paternity and hence are free from the third and fourth (adulterous) types. Finally, societies without castes are devoid of intercaste illegitimacy. The only forms of illegitimacy which can with few reservations be called universal are the first (simple illegitimacy), the second (one-sided adultery, mother unmarried), and the fifth, sixth, and seventh (incestuous forms).

Each type, and hence illegitimacy in general, seems susceptible to a structural-functional interpretation. Given a social system with a certain constellation of reproductive and related institutions, the legal and moral attitudes toward violations of them become inevitable. The almost universal occurrence of certain institutions, such as the immediate family,

formation of the marriage tie such that their violation makes the marriage null and void from the beginning, there we find illegitimacy. Most such laws, however, fall under the nine types of situation discussed. Most other laws governing legal marriage, such as those relating to nonage, idiocy, insanity, etc., do not entail illegitimacy because their violation does not necessarily make an existing *de facto* marriage null from its inception. The common law held that a marriage declared void was void *ab initio* and the children born of such a union were illegitimate; but at that time the laws governing who could marry were scant. Modern law, which includes more regulations as to who may marry, fortunately comes to the rescue of the children and either refuses to dissolve the marriage or else declares the child legitimate. This tendency goes so far that even some forms of illicit union described above, if accompanied by a marriage ceremony undertaken in good faith, are declared to result in legitimate issue. See Vernier, *op. cit.*, I, 230-236.

²⁰ Genestal, *op. cit.*, pp. ii-iv, 1-42.

²¹ M. P. Nilsson, *Imperial Rome* (London, 1926), p. 300.

²² Wherever there are peculiar laws governing the

accounts for the equally universal appearance of certain forms of illegitimacy—simple, incestuous, and adulterous. The occasional existence of other institutions accounts for the occasional occurrence of other forms of illegitimacy, such as the adulterous, intercaste, and celibate class forms. To understand the nature of illegitimacy one must therefore understand the institutional norms which illegitimate situations violate. We have said that every society must possess institutionalized groups to carry on essential functions requiring cooperative endeavor. The familial groups perform the functions of reproduction and child-rearing. The norm of post-marital procreation is simply

the central requirement of this institution. The norm of non-adulterous procreation has the additional function of protecting an already established family group. The rule of caste endogamy performs an essential service in keeping hereditary castes distinct. Finally, the principle of non-reproduction in celibate groups enables a society to utilize the services of certain individuals without competition from the inclusive loyalty of the private family. Since all of these norms are functionally significant in a given society, the public condemnation of their violation (i.e. the public disapproval of illegitimacy) constitutes an integral and necessary part of the social system.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY IN JAPAN

The oldest and the most fundamental social institution of Japan very probably is ancestor-worship. It can be called indigenous to Japan just as most likely it has been among all races of men. But Confucianism from China invaded early Japan and began to wield a powerful influence, taking away not a little of the freedom that was previously enjoyed by the people, especially by women. Confucianism's ideal for woman was anything but liberal, if viewed from an Occidental standpoint.

According to the Japanese Scriptures, the Sun Goddess is the direct Ancestress of the Japanese Imperial Family. From this religious tenet, one might expect to find a high social position for woman in general, but such has not been the case since the introduction of Confucianism. Today, in an ordinary family, the ancestors that are worshipped are, as a rule, not women but men. It is a striking fact that the authors of old Japanese stories and dramas seem to take pleasure in always giving women the parts of the villains and making them the evil agencies of the plots. Japanese women were regarded as ceremonially unclean to such an extent that the priests did not allow them to climb any of the sacred mountains, even though worship was the object for ascending to these holy places.

But when the one, eternal, all-embracing object of the family is the production of ancestor-worshippers, it was discovered that women cannot have too much say in the matter of marriage, since theirs is more than half of the sacrifice that is involved, and they might, for this reason, begin to weaken. Even the happiness of both the man and the women directly concerned is but rarely taken into consideration. The one question is, "Will the wedded couple be able to produce a line of effective ancestor-worshippers, male children preferably?" Nothing could possibly be more unfilial in a married pair than to be without posterity. This would be the unpardonable sin against the spirits of the ancestors. We Occidentals simply cannot appreciate fully the bitterness of the anxiety that is suffered by a childless couple in Japan. But let us imagine seriously that our own ancestral shades were suspended somewhere in eternity awaiting the ceaseless worship of us, their descendants on earth; and if then, haply, we, their descendants should have become so demoralized as to be guilty of allowing the family line to die out, thus leaving the shades forever unworshipped! Such derelicts might do well indeed to fear the lash of condign punishment from yonder world at the hands of such dishonored shades.

We may now be able to begin to understand why Japanese parents of the older type so strenuously disapprove of love between the sexes before marriage. Courtship as a system is simply taboo. And how could romantic love, or mere physical passion be a safe guide in bringing together a young male and a young female for the purpose of producing worthy worshippers of the ancient family line? It is unthinkable. The family must select, and *does* select the life-partners for its sons and daughters. A reliable go-between (*nakado*) is employed by the family to find a proper wife for the son, or a proper husband for the daughter. This match-maker will begin a most careful and complete investigation into the life-history of the persons approached. If it is a woman,—then, is her family of the *samurai* class, or is she an ordinary commoner? Is there any "bad blood" (leprosy) in the

(Concluded on page 114)

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

ECONOMIC FACTORS IN NEGRO MIGRATION— PAST AND FUTURE

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INTRODUCTION

AMERICA, like all young countries, has been developed by and subjected to a series of migrations. European peoples from various sections of the continent moved into this country in consecutive and concurrent waves during the period prior to the World War. During and after the war, the influx of foreign-born persons into the United States was abated. This decline in immigration together with an increased demand for industrial workers stimulated the mobility of a minority group within the country, and, in response to this situation, the Negro moved from the South to the North and West and from the rural to the urban South. He is still moving. These population movements are of great importance in our economic, social, and political development. Unless we reckon with them, it is impossible for us to understand our past. Without a knowledge of them, we cannot plan intelligently for the future.

This paper attempts to delineate the possible future trends of population movements among Negroes. The analysis presented here indicates that during the next few years, there will probably be no ap-

preciable mass movement of Negroes to the North and West. Inevitably, the greater economic attractiveness of these regions will lead to greater migration of Southern workers, both colored and white, to the North and West, but this will probably be delayed because of the present labor reserves and slight prospect of immediate industrial expansion in these sections. In the meantime, it seems certain that Negro and white farmers will turn cityward, and southern urban centers will continue to grow.

I

During the World War Negroes became a mobile people. In response to the needs and overtures of Northern and Western industry, they moved in large numbers to urban centers outside the South. This movement was motivated by the prospect of greater employment opportunities.¹ "Once begun, the movement northward continued at an increasing rate until, in 1930, 20 percent of the total Negro population of the Nation was living North

¹ Spero and Harris, *The Black Worker* (1931), p. 149, and *The Problems of a Changing Population*, National Resources Committee (1938), p. 99.

of the Mason-Dixon line."² Since 1930, the migration of Negroes has continued. It has, as was true during the decade 1920-1930, not only involved movement from the South to the North and West, but from the deep South to the upper South and from the rural to the urban South. The net result of these movements has been a rapid urbanization of Negroes—most pronounced in the North and quite apparent in the South.

An analysis of the past population movements among Negroes and reflection upon past and current economic developments in the Northern and Southern regions suggest that, although the migration of Negroes has not reached its end, its direction will be modified in the immediate future. During the post-war period, there has been continuous movement of Negroes from Southern farms. This has been reflected in the great rise in the number of Negroes in urban centers of the North and a growth of Negro populations in Southern cities. At the same time, the rural whites of the South were moving cityward. Among whites, however, there was less intense migration to cities in the North and much greater increase in urban populations in the South. Thus "the percentage of Southern Negroes who are found in cities has been rising, but the proportion of the Southern white population living in cities has been increasing still more rapidly, so that the proportion of Negroes in the population of most Southern cities has been decreasing."³ Despite these movements, the proportion of Negro males in the South engaged in farming remains higher than that for whites.⁴ At the same time, the Southeast, where 55.2 percent of male

Negroes gainfully employed are on farms, "is the principal area of population replacement for the rest of the country."⁵ And its surplus population is chiefly rural. The average annual income of all farmers in the South is small, and colored farm families, on the average, have much lower incomes than white farm families. Thus, it is reasonable to expect a continued stream of migration of Negroes from the rural areas of this section. Where these people go depends upon many factors. An analysis of the conditions which have influenced Negro migration in the past and a consideration of present economic and social developments will be helpful in predicting the future movement.

As has been noted above, the chief factor in the migration of Negroes from the South to the North and the West has been the prospect of greater employment opportunities. During the World War period, much of the movement northward was in direct response to the overtures and recruiting of the industrialists of this section who were faced with an acute labor shortage.⁶ The movement, once started, perpetuated itself when "folks back home" learned of the success of their friends and relatives and heard fabulous tales of high wages. There were, of course, other factors: the economic situation in the South, the hope of political activity and greater civil rights, the prospect of decent schools, and the enjoyment of larger social and recreational opportunities in Northern cities. In the case of those who moved from the rural to the urban centers of the South, most of these factors entered the decision. Their intensity for this group was, however, of lesser degree.

The availability of industrial and service employment in the expanding economies

² *Problems of a Changing Population*, pp. 99, and 103-108.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁶ Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-181.

of the North and West and the higher earnings in these regions continued to be their chief attraction to colored labor during the post-war period. Studies of this movement have shown that Negro workers in the South not only were subjected to the lower regional level of wages but also were paid lower wages than whites when both were engaged in the same work. Writing in 1931, Spero and Harris noted that, "In general Negroes and whites in southern plants are engaged in different types of work. Positions of authority, of course, go to the white man. The less attractive and lower paid jobs go to the black man. Instances are common in which Negroes receive lower pay than white men for the same work."⁷ Despite the Southern caste system "which relegates the Negro to a place of permanent inferiority,"⁸ the occupational pattern for Negro labor in the South in 1920 offered greater employment opportunities for Negro skilled workers than did that of the North. This condition exists today and is, of course, due to the Southern Negro's longer period of residence, his greater numerical importance in the total labor supply, and his longer period of activity in the skills.⁹ It is intimately associated with a racial wage differential. In the North, where there had been no tradition of employing colored mechanics and where few Negroes had entered the skills, there was less opportunity for

them to follow skilled work. This was the general occupational picture when migration began. As a fresh recruit, the Negro naturally entered unskilled work in the North during the post-war period. There was, however, as a rule, no discrimination as to wage rates. The usual thing was equal pay for equal work as between white and colored workers in the North.¹⁰

II

Regional wage differentials were associated with the migration of Negroes during the post-war period, as they had been during the war years. It is, however, necessary to note that these sectional differences had existed for some time as a potential encouragement to Negro emigration from the South but they had not been sufficient in themselves to initiate and sustain the movement. Something more than regional wage differences was required to make the Negro a mobile people. The drastic decline of immigration from Europe supplied this force. It led to a shortage of workers in the North and West, and the industrialists of these regions sought a new source of labor to supply the needs of their expanding plants. Accordingly, Negroes were recruited in the South. This was done, as had been the case in early European migration, through the activities of labor agents, payments of transportation costs, and promises of great increases in earning power.

Just as linguistic differences, national rivalries, and realization of new economic opportunities had made certain emigrant groups from Europe difficult to organize when they first entered industry, so Negroes who had been associated with strike breaking in the North and West, often remained outside of labor organizations

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 169. It must be noted that in most instances Negroes were either performing a given type of work under a different name in a given plant or were employed in different plants doing similar work. There are few recorded instances of different pay for the same work in plants where Negroes and whites were doing the same work and similarly classified.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹ Robert C. Weaver, "The Urban Negro Worker in the United States, 1925-1936, Vol. II, *Male Negro Skilled Workers in the United States, 1930-1936*, Department of the Interior (1939), pp. 7-13.

¹⁰ Spero and Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

due both to the attitude of organized labor towards them and to their indifference to the trade union movement. This situation could be, and was perpetuated because of racial differences and economic background. From the employer's point of view, the Negro's coming North seemed, in many instances, to supply a "safe" source of labor which was difficult to organize and easily controlled. When it is remembered that there was much industrial unrest in the post-war years, it can be realized that the importation of Negro labor was intimately associated with the Northern and Western employers' fight against unionism and labor troubles. There have been many instances where employers have used different nationalities and races in a given plant in order to discourage solidarity and organization among workers. In the steel industry, this seems to have been an important consideration in employment policy.¹¹ The same situation existed in many other branches of manufacturing, and it is intimately associated with the entrance of Negroes into industrial pursuits.

The economic conditions on farms in the South and the constant over-population of the Cotton Belt created a situation which made the Negro population eager to leave Southern rural areas. Thus, in 1921-1923, even in the face of the then current post-war deflation, Negroes continued to migrate from Southern farms when the ravages of the boll weevil endangered cotton culture. While it was possible for many of the white farmers who made the same movement to find employment near at home in the "booming cotton mill villages of the Piedmont,"

¹¹ See Horace B. Davis, *Labor and Steel* (1933), p. 32 et. seq. For similar evidence in the meat-packing industry, see Alma Herbst, *The Negro in the Slaughtering and Meat-Packing Industry in Chicago* (1932), pp. 20 et. seq.

Negroes found little employment in the textile industry. Many of them were "virtual refugees" who depended upon friends and relatives in urban areas.¹²

Negro common laborers in Southern cities and towns joined agricultural workers and tenants in their quest for economic improvement in the North and West. Many Negro skilled workers augmented the stream of colored persons who deserted the South. This movement of Negro mechanics has continued despite the fact that few of them found skilled work in their new abodes, and it is an interesting reflection of the work opportunities and wage structures of the North and of the South. A picture of differences in Northern and Southern occupational and wage patterns is offered by a recent study of the Department of the Interior. Data presented in this study indicate that the male Negro worker in the South trained in a skill was more likely to be engaged in a skilled pursuit than was the one who was working in the North.¹³ In the North, however, male skilled workers who were outside their usual skills earned higher weekly wages than skilled Negro men employed in their usual occupations in cities of the South.¹⁴ Thus, despite the fact that migration during the 1920's had involved a certain degree of occupational displacement for male Negro skilled workers and sometimes meant shifting into unskilled work, it also brought higher average earnings. Those male Negro skilled workers in Northern cities who worked in their usual occupations

¹² Carter Goodrich and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (1936), pp. 136-137. Of course, some Negro agricultural workers entered Southern industry. In the case of tobacco manufacturing in North Carolina and Virginia this has been true.

¹³ Robert C. Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20, 27, 29-33, 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

earned, in 1930, much more than those so employed in the cities of the South.¹⁵

That the wage differential as between Negro and white unskilled labor in the South remains large is amply illustrated by a recent study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In July 1937, it was discovered that not only were entrance rates of pay for common labor for Negroes greater in the North than in the South, but in the North there were no racial differentials in these rates.¹⁶ The lower Southern rates for Negroes were in part a racial differential and in part a reflection of regional wage levels (which in turn were influenced by the concentration of large cities in the North). However, in 1937 the average rates in the South were but 62.8 percent of those obtaining in the North.¹⁷

The true economic results of the occupational and wage patterns of Negroes in the North and South are best reflected by regional income figures. According to the Survey of *Consumer Incomes in the United States* by the National Resources Committee, there were marked differences in earnings for Negroes and whites.¹⁸ "In both urban and rural Southern communities the mean income of nonrelief white families in 1935-1936 was approximately three times that of nonrelief Negro families. The disparity was something less in North Central cities of 100,000 and over, but even there the mean income for

Negro families was less than half that for white families."¹⁹

This study of incomes also indicates that in the rural South more than half of the nonrelief Negro families had incomes less than \$500 and more than nine-tenths of them had incomes under \$1,000. For Southern cities the corresponding proportions were 47 percent and 86 percent. "In the North Central cities, the Negro families were most numerous in the income classes from \$500 to \$1,500 with a minor proportion of them scattered through the higher income ranges."²⁰ Of course, if relief families are included, the family incomes of Northern Negroes would be lowered since the incidence of relief among urban Negro families in the North Central Region has been unusually high.²¹

These income data substantiate our earlier analysis. We have seen that occupational opportunities for Negroes have contracted greatly during the depression. In the South this has resulted in unemployment for all groups of Negroes. In the North it has led to abnormal displacement of skilled workers, their shifting into unskilled and semi-skilled pursuits, and extremely high unemployment for all Negro workers.

III

The analysis which has been presented above indicates the existence of certain economic forces which might encourage

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41. For an example of a large Southern racial differential for skilled workers within a given industry see "Earnings and Hours in the Granite Industry, August 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1937, pp. 1465-1490.

¹⁶ "Entrance Rates of Common Laborers in 20 Industries, July 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1937, pp. 1491-1510.

¹⁷ More recent data on wages for common laborers have appeared. See "Entrance Rates of Common Laborers, July 1938," *Monthly Labor Review* (January 1939), pp. 167-168.

¹⁸ *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, National Resources Committee (1938), pp. 28-29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29. Recent studies indicate that regional differences in income reflect comparable geographic differences in economic well-being for cities of comparable size in the North and South. See "Differences in Living Costs in Northern and Southern Cities," *Monthly Labor Review*, July, 1939, pp. 22-38.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29. For a discussion of the effects of the depression upon urban Northern Negroes, see E. Franklin Frazier, "Some Effects of the Depression on the Negro in Northern Cities," *Science and Society* (Fall, 1938), pp. 489-499.

Negroes to move to the North and West in large numbers in the future. The wage levels in these regions are still much higher than those in the South, and there continues to be a wage differential based on race in the South. Thus, on the surface, the economic urge of higher earnings remains as a factor stimulating the migration of colored workers from the South. There are, however, certain economic, social and political forces which are modifying the situation. These are reducing the geographic difference in wage rates, modifying the extensiveness of wage differentials based on race, altering the Negro's attitude toward trade unionism and that of organized labor toward Negroes, erecting definite barriers to the acceptance of Southern Negroes as a labor reserve for Northern and Western industry, and rendering the unguided movement of the unemployed and employed from state to state more difficult. At the same time there is no immediate prospect of a shortage of industrial manpower in any section, and it has been shown that Negro migration was initiated in response to greater job opportunities at higher wage rates in areas where there were growing demands for labor. It should be instructive to examine and evaluate these forces. Out of such an analysis we shall be able to suggest future trends in the movement of colored workers. Of course, we can do no more than speculate since there are possible so many unknown and uncharted developments in the future. In spite of these limitations we can, as we have, diagnose the motivating forces which have operated in the past, and we can sketch the institutional changes which are occurring today. It is these changes in our economic and social life that are most important for the future. They are many and varied. Some are working in direction and others in another. But

taken together they are the most significant mile posts on the road which leads to tomorrow.

It has already been noted that there will probably be continuing emigration from the rural sections of the South and from the Southeast in particular. "Although the movement from farms to cities was considerably retarded during the early depression years, a critical analysis of available data for the years 1930-1935 shows that this trend gathered momentum again in 1935. Continued movement of young people from farms to cities must be expected, and we have seen that there are sound economic reasons for encouraging this trend, especially movement from rural communities in the Southeast."²² This will, of course, include Negro farmers, farm laborers, and tenants.

On the one hand recent legislative proposals and new laws now in effect will tend to reduce the movement of colored workers out of the South. At the same time, current unemployment among Negroes in the North and West tends to discourage the entrance of more colored families into these areas. "Public administration of relief has in general tended to restrict mobility. Few communities are willing to support any but their own residents; hence a specified length of residence is prerequisite to receipt of relief. It is probable that the maintenance of legal residence will become increasingly important in the future as more and more States enact social security laws, except insofar as this effect may be modified by Federal legislation or interstate agreements."²³

²² *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 211. See also, *ibid.*, p. 116. It has been estimated that the surplus population of the old Cotton Belt will be between 1.5 and 6.5 millions during the 10 years following recovery. Carter Goodrich and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

²³ *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 118. See also Goodrich and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 600-601.

Among Negroes this force is at present of less importance than for all workers since agricultural and domestic laborers are not generally covered by the Social Security Law at this time, and colored persons have a disproportionately high concentration in these occupations.

On the other hand, the existing great differences in family incomes and earnings for Negroes in the North and South will, as long as they continue, be an important force in attracting colored workers away from the South. Greater civil and political rights will exert an influence; and the growth of industrial unionism with increasing opportunities for Negro participation is sure to make the areas where it exists more attractive to colored workers.

One of the important factors in the movement of Negroes has not been mentioned in this paper up to this point. It refers to the opportunities for Negro white-collar and professional workers in the North and the South.²⁴ With the exception of teachers and preachers, there are relatively few Negro professional persons in the South. The separate schools of that section afford many occupational opportunities—at extremely low average salaries, for public-supported education in the South has accepted a wage differential based on race. The occupational pattern for Negroes in professional and white-collar pursuits in the North seems to be more diversified and reflects the influence of greater political activity in this section of the Nation. There is also evidence that a larger proportion of non-farm male Negroes in the Northeast, Middle Atlantic, and Northwest states are in clerical and kindred work than is

true of the Southeast. Here, again, despite the importance of racial prejudice and traditional attitudes associated with racial divisions, it appears that the lack of professional opportunities in the South are reflections of the general economic level of that section. "It seems evident that a general increase in economic level for all groups in the South would broaden the opportunities in the more privileged occupations for whites as well as for Negroes."²⁵

The Wages and Hours Law will have an important influence upon geographic wage patterns for Negroes. The Wages and Hours Administration has not allowed wage differentials based upon race, and the law tends to raise most the earnings of the lowest paid workers. Thus, it should serve to lessen the differences between wage structures for Negroes in the North and the South. There are theoretical reasons for believing that racial displacement incident to these minima will be less than has been threatened, since most of the workers covered are part of factory labor forces and the investment in plant incident to their employment makes group turnover an expensive item. Moreover, a wage policy of no racial differential is the only possible one consistent with the growth of real labor organization in the Nation, and any variation from it will meet stiff opposition. There is, however,

²⁵ *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 82. Thompson has noted that although colored teachers have, on the average, 80 per cent as much training as white teachers, they receive only 49.3 per cent as much salary for the same work as do white teachers. See Charles Thompson, "White and Negro Teachers' Salaries and Cost of Living," *Journal of Negro Education*, October, 1938, p. 485. The racial wage differential among white and Negro rural teachers is greater than that for urban teachers. For an example of the rural situation, see "Salaries of School Employees, 1938-1939," *Research Bulletin* Vol. VII, No. 2, National Education Association of the United States.

²⁴ At the present the Office of the Adviser on Negro Affairs in the Department of the Interior is executing analyses of occupational shiftings among Negro white-collar and professional workers.

the possibility that the Wages and Hours Law will accelerate the increased use of machinery. Until more studies are made in this field, it will be impossible to judge the extent of technological unemployment created by this development. On the whole, it can certainly be assumed that this legislation will tend to reduce the importance of geographic differences in wage structures as a factor in encouraging the migration of Negroes from the South to other sections.

If relief is decentralized, there may be a tendency to reduce payments to Negroes in the South. On the other hand, the greater participation of states in the administration of relief will cause the residence requirements to be raised and more strictly enforced. This latter influence should be more important in migration than the former, for greater decentralization of relief will, it seems, decrease the mobility of all citizens, Negro and white alike. If Social Security benefits are extended to agricultural and domestic workers a similar reduction of mobility between states will be extended over a larger field. Because of the Southern Negroes' concentration in these occupations, they will feel this force more than other groups in the South.

The most serious deterrent to Negro migration to the North is, of course, the lack of job opportunities in that section. Unemployment among colored persons in Northern cities is extremely high. This will prevent any immediate demand for recruits to industry in these urban centers. It will also make less effective the force of the existence of a geographic differential in wages.

There are additional factors which will tend to reduce the rate of migration of Negroes from the South. Already, industrial unionism has reached certain Southern cities. The miners and metal

workers in and around Birmingham have led the way; others are following, notably the share croppers in the deep South and the tobacco workers in Virginia. The revival of the longshoremen's unions and the rise of industrial unionism in manufacturing plants in New Orleans is another encouraging sign. The growing importance of government financed construction as typified by the PWA and the USHA has created a new importance of union affiliation for Negro skilled workers in the building trades.²⁶ The degree to which colored workers in the South become a part of the labor movement will exert a most important influence upon their stability in that area. For if they are successful in participating generally in this movement, the wage differential based on race will be appreciably lessened. And such a differential has been closely associated with the movement of Negroes out of the South.

If there is Federal aid for education, the South will receive great benefits. There should be in any such aid provisions for an equitable distribution of funds as between Negro and white schools. Legislation of this type should do much to improve the Negro schools and bring them nearer an accepted standard. Current and future court action relative to racial differential in teachers' pay should appreciably improve the economic status of Negro professional workers in the South. Public housing, which the South seems ready to extend to Negroes, will be another factor contributing to stabilize the Negro population in the South.

There are other intangible forces, such as the recent movement toward a realistic

²⁶ See Robert C. Weaver, "An Experiment in Negro Labor," *Opportunity* (October 1936), pp. 295-298; also Weaver, "Training Negroes for Occupational Opportunities," *Journal of Negro Education* (October 1938), pp. 486-497.

approach to the problems of the South by Southerners and the scientific analysis of the problems of Negro youth now being conducted by the American Youth Commission. Although the significance of these developments cannot be measured, they are designed to bring economic rehabilitation and racial understanding in the South and should affect the colored man's economic and social status.

For the present, at least, the high degree of unemployment among Negroes in the North seems to be a definite deterrent to the migration of Negroes in large numbers to that section. If and when there is an increase in the demand for labor in the North and West, there will be an available supply in the industrial centers of these regions. This fact, reflected by the general existence of unemployment and heavy relief loads in Northern cities, will prevent community acceptance or indifference to any recruiting of Southern colored workers by Northern and Western employers. At the same time the increasing participation of Negroes in industrial unions in the North and West will do much to integrate Negroes into the economic life of communities in these sections. Although such participation will make these areas attractive to migrants, it will also create an active and rather effective opposition to the migration of a new labor reserve as long as there is a supply of local labor available. This will reflect the growing consciousness of the whole community to labor organization and the new appreciation of colored citizens to the true implications of strike breaking. In cases where there are union agreements and contracts with employers, the force of such opposition will be intensified during the period of unemployment. Also, union participation by Negroes and the operation of the National Labor Relations Act will reduce the efficacy of

importing colored workers as strike breakers.

On the other hand, it cannot be stressed too much that the contrast between Northern and Southern wage structures for Negroes will, as long as it exists, be a potential force encouraging Negroes to leave the South. In addition there is a most important long-run factor which must be taken into account. It is the surplus populations of two southern areas, the Southern Appalachian Coal Plateaus and the old Cotton Belt, in relation to their economic opportunities and ability to absorb additional workers. Thus, from the point of view of desirable population movements it can be said that: "The indications point to the need for emigration from the rural areas generally and to the inevitability of a very heavy movement from South to North and West."²⁷ We can agree with Goodrich and his associates in feeling that in a discussion of where surplus populations will go we must remember that there is a question of the economic system's absorbing them anywhere or of their ever finding satisfactory employment. This much we can say, if there is recovery and if production gives rise to greater demands for labor; "the chances of future livelihood are in general better in the North and West than in the South."²⁸ Certainly what is true of all Southern workers will reach colored workers if and when economic conditions facilitate greater regional migration.

In the interim, there are certain changes in the industrial development of the South which will influence the Negro. First, the growth of the Southern branch of the textile industry at the expense of that in the North seems to be at an end. Indeed, it has been said that the southern tex-

²⁷ Goodrich and others, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

tile industry is already overexpanded.²⁹ There will no doubt be a growth of southern industrialization, but at a rate slower than that of the pre-depression years and insufficient to absorb the entire surplus population of the region.³⁰ It seems probable also that the development of industries such as construction, furniture, and food and metal manufacturing may offer relatively greater opportunities for employment to Negroes in the South than did the growth of textiles; for in the past these industries have used a much higher proportion of colored workers than have the textile mills of the South.³¹

For the Negro, as for all groups in the population, there seems to be little prospect of great regional migrations in the immediate future. There will, within states—especially those of the South—be much movement. The Negro will continue to desert the rural areas of the Southeast. Present economic, political, and social developments suggest that the North will be less attractive and accessible to the Southern Negro in the immediate future than it has been. Thus, there will be greater concentration of colored citizens in Southern cities. The movement of Negroes to the North and the West will continue, but unless there is a great increase in labor needs in these sections, it is unlikely that there will be anything approaching the earlier waves of migration out of the South.

IV

Speculation on long-run migration trends is most hazardous. Obviously, it is impossible to do more than indicate what may happen if certain developments

take place. Our recent experiences have shown us that revival of production does not mean absorption of all the unemployed. It is possible and probable that manufacturing and mechanical industries will be able to produce more goods with fewer workers than were required in the past.³² Also, recent studies of technological trends have suggested that there will be greater demand for workers in clerical capacities and in other work incident to service industries.³³ Dr. Edwards of the Census Bureau has noted the phenomenal growth of clerical and kindred workers. In an article devoted entirely to this group, he states that, "more significant perhaps than the present size of the white-collar group is its remarkable growth." During the 60-year period from 1870 to 1930 clerical and kindred workers grew from approximately 366,752 to 7,949,453—an increase of 2067.5 percent.³⁴ The proportion of all gainfully employed persons falling in this group increased five times. Thus, in 1870, 2.9 percent of all workers were clerks and kindred workers; while in 1930 the figure was 16.3 percent. Among female workers the increase was relatively greater than for all workers. During the 60-year period female clerical and kindred workers grew

²⁹ "The probability for the future seems to be that there will be less rather than more employment in manufacturing industries." Harry Magdoff and others, *Production, Employment, and Productivity in 59 Manufacturing Industries, 1919-36*, Part I, Works Progress Administration (1939), p. 82. See also *Technological Trends and National Policy* (1937), pp. 71-75.

³⁰ During the 60-year period, 1870-1930, the proportion of the nation's labor force engaged in production of commodities of basic industries dropped from slightly over three-fourths to a little over one-half. Ralph B. Hurlin and Meredith B. Givens, "Shifting Occupational Patterns," *Recent Social Trends* (1933), I, 284.

³¹ Edwards, "The White Collar Worker," *Monthly Labor Review* (March 1934), p. 504.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Alba M. Edwards, *A Social Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers of the United States*, Bureau of the Census, 1938, tables 31 and 32.

26,615 percent. On the basis of this growth in the past, Dr. Edwards predicts that the group may continue to increase in relative importance.³⁵

In the light of these trends, it seems that business revival in the North and West will not give rise to a need for importation of labor to the extent that was true of the post-war period. There is, of course, the possibility of greater needs incident to the production of munitions and other material needed for our defense program or bought by foreign powers for war purposes. Such results are, at best, uncertain. If they should be realized, there is a chance for the need of a large labor supply in industrial centers. In the interim, Negroes and whites will be moving from rural to urban areas. The existence of higher wages in Northern industries will make them attractive to Southern workers, and it is safe to assume that any increase in the demand of these industries for workers which cannot be met by the present local labor reserves will attract Southerners in large numbers. If such a demand is delayed, as it seems it will be, the type of workers who respond will be different from those who migrated prior to 1930. Since forces are operating to reduce wage differentials based on race in the South, the Negro will share his response with the white Southerner to a greater degree than in the past. (This will be offset in part by the greater attractiveness of the North to Negroes on account of its increased civil and political rights for colored citizens and the keener competition for jobs in Southern cities.) All Southern workers who may make this move—and Negroes in particular—will probably be more familiar with city life than earlier migrants due to urbanization within the South which seems to be in-

evitable in the near future. Also, there should be less difficulty in initiating this future industrial reserve of the North into benefits of labor organization. Present indications seem to show that some of the ground work will be done in the South in the immediate future.

From this analysis certain implications can be drawn in many fields. The following are a few. In the first place it seems that the constantly recurring recommendations for reestablishing the Negro on farms in the South are contrary to present and inevitable future trends. In individual cases this method may be desirable, but as a wholesale method of solving the economic problems which face Negroes it is of questionable value. The very areas in which there is the greatest concentration of colored farmers and farm laborers are the most outstanding sections of overpopulation. The problems of these areas today and, in the light of our prospects of a declining population and the nature of the world market for cotton, their future problems are those of surplus population. It would be futile to initiate a movement of any group back into these sections which have not enough present or prospective job opportunities for their natural populations. The principal problem of the Southern people—Negro and white alike—is not one of finding agricultural employment but of discovering employment opportunities in non-farm communities for a surplus population. Indeed, as the Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy has noted, "It should also be clearly recognized that if agriculture must provide for any large segment of its surplus population, it will be in no position to provide for the unemployed, the aged, and the industrial misfits discarded by other industries." Already there are some 500,000 destitute farm families on land almost wholly

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

unsuited for crop farming. Thus, the great need is for migration.³⁶

Since there is little immediate prospect of a great influx of Negro workers into the North and West, this is a favorable time for the labor movement in these sections to effect a vigorous educational campaign among colored workers. This movement should be an integral part of the general organizational work. Evidences are at hand that such a program is under way and is receiving the support of colored labor. In the South, there is even greater need for a vigorous attack upon the problem of organizing both Negro and white labor.

In the realm of public housing it may be noted that future population movements among Negroes suggest the desirability and feasibility of continuing slum clearance and low-rent housing in Negro neighborhoods in the South. The southern cities seem destined to grow in size during the next few years. The newcomers will be both Negro and white and there will be a growing need for low-rent housing; however, past experience has shown that the natural increase in the supply of housing for Negroes will usually lag behind the demand. Planning for public housing in the North must in its long-run phases envision larger populations of both Negro and white citizens and be flexible enough to adjust itself to their needs.

For Negroes and those concerned with their economic future, these possible developments in population distribution have important implications. In the first place, there must be expanding opportunities for employment in Southern cities, and this problem will be complicated by

the fact that both the Negro and white populations of these cities will grow. The colored skilled worker must survive in this section: Steps to assure this and to facilitate the training of young Negroes in the skills should be taken at once. Since the revival of the construction industry seems to be dependent upon expanded activity in housing and since public housing will probably lead the way, this field seems to be a point of departure.³⁷ Also, the growth of service industries and the programs of governmental activity in the field of social betterment suggest the importance of securing a place for Negroes as employees in such programs.³⁸ Nor can the need to secure a place for colored workers in the future industrial expansion of the South be left to chance.

Finally, there must be a general increase of Negro employment in the distributive and service trades and an expansion of their activity in new expressions of traditional occupations such as domestic service.³⁹ Perhaps the greatest need here is constant and capable research into occupational trends and adequate vocational guidance. This should be coupled with a critical re-examination of so-called Vocational Education for Negroes in the South and a thorough revision of it to the end that it actually becomes what its name implies.⁴⁰

³⁷ Weaver, "An Experiment in Negro Labor," *op. cit.*

³⁸ Weaver, "Training Negroes for Occupational Opportunities," *Journal of Negro Education* (October, 1938), pp. 493-497.

³⁹ See Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 495 *et seq.*

⁴⁰ For a critical appraisal of Negro vocational education in the South, see Frank S. Horne, "The Industrial School of the South," *Opportunity* (May and June 1935).

³⁶ *Farm Tenancy* (1936), p. 65.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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THIS paper is predicated on the thesis that the agitation for compulsory health insurance in the United States, for more than a quarter of a century, constitutes a social movement. Its purpose is to show that it should concern the social scientist as much as the physician. In dealing with the more significant events of the movement, it is further proposed to demonstrate certain sequences so that we may take a more intelligent view in the future.

I

Insecurity has been the bane of all industrial civilizations. In the United States, as in other countries, the trend in technological progress since the turn of the century has created countless problems of adaptation and accommodation by and within society. Ogburn, in discussing the complexity of problems confronting our country today, pointed to the fact that

...not all parts of our organization are changing at the same speed, or at the same time. Some are rapidly moving forward and others are lagging. These unequal rates of change in economic life, in government... make zones of danger and points of tension. Scientific discoveries and inventions in-

stigate changes first in the economic organization and social habits which are most closely associated with them. . . . The next set of changes occurs in organizations one step further removed, namely, in institutions such as the family, the government . . . Somewhat later as a rule come changes in social philosophies and codes of behavior. . . .¹

While the technological lag during the course of America's industrialization has been relatively short, the periods of adjustment to the changes wrought by such industrialization, or the cultural lag, have been much longer. As defined by Ogburn,² cultural lag constitutes those maladjustments in society resulting from its failure to (1) keep pace with technological progress and (2) make the necessary adjustments to change. It is well known that insecurity does not arise out of technological change per se but, rather, from the maladjustments in our social structure to such change.

For more than fifty years America has striven, hesitantly perhaps but continually, for some guarantee of social security. During the last decade, in becoming the

¹ W. F. Ogburn, "National Policy and Technology," *Technological Trends and National Policy* (June 1937).

² W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York, 1922).

people's mandate, the drive for social security has been viewed as a full-fledged social movement. In our myopia of 1939, however, we appear to have thrust ourselves almost precipitously into a program that embraces every phase of security—except health. Yet, as Epstein has said: "No other social hazard strikes so erratically as sickness. Falling lightly on some individuals, it completely crushes others. At the same time, there is probably no social evil today which is as amenable to prevention as illness."³

The trilogy of sickness, disability, and dependency—while basically related to the whole problem of social security—is equally significant in its own right as a separate issue. Programs designed to meet these needs have invariably been, for practical (political and economic) reasons, independent of broader social security programs.

A great many studies, culminating with the publication, in 1938, of the findings of the National Health Survey,⁴ attest to the widespread incidence of sickness and disability, the partnership between sickness and poverty, and unmet medical needs. While scientific progress has laid the preventive and curative foundations for the control of many diseases now causing widespread suffering, disability, death, and the loss of wages to the extent of more than a billion and a half dollars annually, numerous other studies attest to the maladjustments of present-day medicine. They have shown, in the words of the late Professor William H. Welch, "... a woefully ineffective distribution service [of medical care], as

compared with its marvellously effective production service. . . ."⁵ They have brought out the inadequacies of medical personnel and facilities, the high cost of medical care, the economic losses incurred through morbidity and mortality, and the economy of providing against such losses.

Numerous attempts have been made to solve the problems posed by these various studies. Voluntary health insurance plans have extended to provide part or all of medical service for some five million people, but are not believed capable of reaching more than a fraction of those who most need care. Tax-supported care is extending⁶ but chiefly for dependent persons and for persons suffering from certain diseases—e. g. mental disorders, tuberculosis, pneumonia. Compulsory health insurance has been proposed for more than twenty-five years as a practicable means of financing medical care. Its initial failure resulted largely from the fact that it was sponsored by a small number of individuals and groups and constitutes what Jerome Davis calls essentially a "minority movement."⁷

II

The compulsory health insurance movement has had four fairly distinct phases. At no time, except the present, was it popular—in the sense that it attracted wide attention. The first period began around 1907 and lasted for six or seven years, during which time a number⁸ of

³ State Charities Aid Association News, V. 14, (December 1925).

⁴ M. M. Davis, "The American Approach to Health Insurance," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, V. 12, No. 3 (July 1934).

⁵ J. Davis, *Contemporary Social Movements*, (New York, 1930).

⁶ These included, among others: Professors Henry R. Seager, Joseph P. Chamberlain, and Edward T. Devine of Columbia University; Professors Carroll W. Doren of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Charles R. Henderson of the University of Chicago;

³ A. Epstein, *Insecurity: A Challenge to America* (New York, 1936).

⁴ A number of "Preliminary Reports" (1938, 1939) covering different phases of the problems of medical care have been published by the National Health Institute, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

economists, sociologists, and social workers began to discuss the problems of health security.

At the outset two questions appear to be pertinent: (1) Why, in the first instance, did these people interest themselves in social security? and, (2) Why did they direct their attention to health insurance rather to workmen's compensation, old age or unemployment insurance? Aside from the general theses posed by historians relating to the problems arising out of the vanishing frontier and the development of a new technology, the turn of the century saw a number of potent forces at work. The minor financial flurries and crises of 1901 and 1907, presaging the general depression of 1913, focused the attention of the academicians, who had essentially reformist motives, on the problems of insecurity. Of no mean significance was the agitation for social insurance then rife in Great Britain, which played an important part in influencing the thought of American social scientists. Equally significant is the fact that many of them had been trained and inculcated in the principles of German social insurance,⁹ which they had naturally translated as desiderata into their American milieu. Agitation on their part, however, was by no means original; it merely reflected the trend of the times and the championing of the underdog by

Theodore Roosevelt. Some years later, referring to this period of our history, the New York World said: "The United States was never closer to a social revolution than when Roosevelt became President."¹⁰ The Roosevelt administration saw something new in techniques of government—with the extension of governmental control in banking, trusts, railroads, and public health, i.e. pure food and drug administration. It would appear a natural consequence, therefore, for health security, in broader terms, to arise as a basic issue.

Of prime interest is the fact that the early interest in social insurance was concerned with *general social security*. Interest in specific issues, such as health, developed later as a natural extension of the general problem.

The first form of social insurance to come into prominence in this country was accident compensation, generally termed workmen's compensation. . . . It is significant that the agitation for Workmen's compensation took definite shape after the passage of the British Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. . . . While the states were still in the process of passing compensation acts covering accidents, agitation was begun to include occupational diseases. . . . Compulsory health insurance may be regarded as a logical development of accident compensation, [in its attempt to meet the broader need, but] it is more than an extension. Underlying both accident compensation and compulsory health insurance is the theory of social solidarity.¹¹

Thus, Commons and Altmeyer describe the early sequence of events. The New Jersey Commission on Old Age Insurance and Pensions,¹² the first of eleven legislative commissions, originally appointed in 1911 to study various pension plans,

Louis D. Brandeis; Miles M. Dawson; Dr. Lee K. Frankel; Lillian D. Wald; Dr. John B. Andrews of the American Association for Labor Legislation; Frederick L. Hoffman of the Prudential Life Insurance Co.; Henry J. Harris of the United States Bureau of Labor; and Drs. Isaac M. Rubinow, Alexander Lambert, and S. S. Goldwater.

⁹ Among the first books of prominence to call attention to German social insurance were: (1) J. G. Brooks, *Fourth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, "Compulsory Insurance in Germany," Washington, 1893, and (2) W. F. Willoughby, *Workmen's Insurance*, New York, 1898.

¹⁰ M. Sullivan, *Our Times*, V. 2 (New York, 1929).

¹¹ J. R. Commons and A. J. Altmeyer, *The Health Insurance Movement in the United States*, *Special Report XVI*, Report of the Illinois Health Insurance Commission, 1919.

¹² Report on Health Insurance by the New Jersey Commission on Old Age Insurance and Pensions, 1917.

became preeminently interested in the problem of sickness as an important factor in old age poverty. It reported that provisions against sickness were fundamentally more important and of more immediate consequence than provisions for old age. This again illustrates the outgrowth of a specific issue from what was essentially a more general consideration at the time.

During this first, discussional, phase of the movement a number of events may be noted. Professor Seager was among the first men to emphasize the importance of a health insurance program.¹³ A year later the Russell Sage Foundation sent Dr. Lee K. Frankel and Miles M. Dawson abroad to study the social insurance systems then in operation.¹⁴ At the National Conference of Charities and Correction (National Conference of Social Work since 1917) in 1911, Louis D. Brandeis discussed the feasibility of social insurance as a means of providing against sickness, disability, old age, and unemployment. A Committee on Standards of Living and Labor was appointed, therefore, specifically to investigate and formulate standards of care for occupational hazards, a subject under close scrutiny by those interested not only in workmen's compensation and health but in social welfare. In its report submitted the following year, one of its recommendations expressed the need for some form of compensation or insurance to offset the heavy losses from accidents and sickness. This was especially significant

coming at a time when legislative action on workmen's compensation was current.¹⁵

Coincidentally with the introduction of compulsory health insurance in England in 1912, the American Association for Labor Legislation, which had taken a leading part in this early campaign for health insurance, set up its highly effective Committee on Social Insurance.¹⁶ The following year the Committee called the First National Conference on Social Insurance.¹⁷ This body advocated widespread education and propaganda on health insurance. After two years of study and investigation the Committee, in cooperation with a similar committee of the American Medical Association, drafted a sickness insurance bill. The drafting of this bill marked the end of the first phase in the drive for health security.

Up to 1914 the health insurance movement can be characterized as academic and nebulous. It was given life by a small number of socially-minded individuals imbued with the principles of social insurance and prompted by reformist motives. At that time the technological advances of medical science had not progressed far enough to present the economic problems in medical care prevalent today. Few facts were then available on the incidence of illness, the unmet

¹³ The report, in essence, became the social legislation planks of both the Progressive and Socialist Parties.

¹⁶ Twelve of the fifteen people influential during this period were members of this Committee; three of them were also members of the Social Insurance Committee of the American Medical Association, which with this Committee, was responsible for drafting the "Standard Bill."

¹⁷ For a review of the Conference, see: I. M. Rubinow, "First American Conference on Social Insurance," *the Survey*, V. 30, No. 14, (July 5, 1913); also: J. B. Andrews, "Health Insurance," *Proceedings of Twelfth Annual Meeting of National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis*, Washington, 1916.

¹³ This was a rather vague method of providing against sickness through compulsory health insurance, subsidized or state directed sickness insurance clubs (not unlike the loose Friendly Society Organizations then common in England).

¹⁴ The outcome of their investigation was summed up in: L. K. Frankel and M. M. Dawson, *Workmen's Compensation in Europe* (New York, 1910).

medical needs, and the inadequacies and deficiencies of medical facilities and personnel. As a result the concept of health insurance had little meaning to an apathetic public. The formulation of a definite plan, in the "Standard Bill," produced a marked change, however.

III

The period, 1914-1920, presents a contrast with the first in that it saw a crystallization of ideas, practical plans, and legislative programs. In addition, there was further investigation of the subject, education, and propaganda.

As soon as the final copy of the "Standard Bill" had been drafted in 1915, it was introduced into three state legislatures—Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York. Only two years later twelve states were considering some form of health insurance legislation. Between 1915 and 1921, eleven state commissions were appointed to study the problem. Six of these: two in California, one each in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, recommended compulsory health insurance; while five—Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—reported by majority opinions against it.¹⁸ In

¹⁸ Reports of the following commissions are available: Report of the Social Insurance Commission of California, 1917; Report of the Social Insurance Commission of California, 1919; Report of the Special Commission on Social Insurance of Massachusetts, 1917; Report on Health Insurance by the New Jersey Commission on Old Age Insurance and Pensions, 1917; Report of the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission, 1919; Report of the Health Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania, 1919; Report of the Connecticut Public Welfare Commission, 1919; Report of the Illinois Health Insurance Commission, 1919; Report of the Special Commission on Social Insurance of Massachusetts, 1918; Report of the Health Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania, 1921; Report of the Special Committee on Social Insurance of Wisconsin, 1919.

1919 the "Standard Bill," introduced into the New York State Legislature, passed in the Senate but was defeated in the Assembly. It was reintroduced in 1920 but failed to report out of committee. Health insurance bills in other states met a similar fate and the movement seemed to collapse.

During this legislative period attitudes for and against health insurance began to crystallize. The "London Letter," published weekly from 1912 to 1915 in the Journal of the American Medical Association, described the establishment of the National Health Insurance in England, its administration, and the early attitude of hostility on the part of many British physicians. The "Letter" was discontinued in 1915 and thereafter the Journal contained little information on the subject. In particular, the satisfactory solution of the differences between the medical profession and the administration was not mentioned. Despite the fact that (1) The American Medical Association had taken no official stand on health insurance until 1917, and on the contrary, (2) had assisted, through its Committee on Social Insurance,¹⁹ in drafting the "Standard Bill," the cessation of information on health insurance in England at that time, presaged much that was to come later. Frank opposition to health insurance was first manifest during the latter part of 1917, about the time publication of the report by the Social Insurance Committee of the American Medical Association was proposed.²⁰

Other groups also protested as soon as they realized the likelihood of the enactment of health insurance laws. Frederick L. Hoffman, third vice-president of

¹⁹ One of its members, Dr. Alexander Lambert, was a President of the American Medical Association.

²⁰ This report was never reported out of Committee or published.

the Prudential Insurance Company, in an address before the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1914, opposed health insurance on the grounds that it was radical and un-American. It is significant that then as now it was argued that the problems of medical care were not pressing. Even though no large-scale incidence of illness studies had been undertaken at that time, certainly no evidence existed to support such a contention. His denunciation²¹ of English and especially of German Health Insurance became even more vigorous three years later—a natural reaction on the part of a representative of large commercial insurance interests, sure to be adversely affected by such legislation.

In 1918 organized labor took a firm stand against compulsory health insurance. The Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor²² voted down a resolution calling for "a comprehensive national system of social insurance." Evidently the opposition to health insurance was based on the belief that such legislation "might undermine union activity and prove to be only a palliative and a substitute for better wages, hours, and conditions of labor."²³ Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, expressed their sentiments, in what has become essentially a formula in opposition to social legislation, by calling it "paternalistic, socialistic and an unjusti-

fiable interference with the rights of workers." In its essence, he called compulsory social insurance, "undemocratic."²⁴ By contrast, it is interesting to note that a number of affiliated state Federations of Labor favored compulsory health insurance. In New York, for example, the "Standard Bill"²⁵ was introduced into the Legislature on the specific instance of the State Federation of Labor.

Employers were, for the most part, cautiously conservative in taking a definite stand on the issue. At the 1917 Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, a committee report stated "that the creation, establishment, and operations of a state governed system of compulsory sickness insurance is [neither] necessary, wise, [nor] desirable."²⁶ The following year this same committee reported "... that, prior to the consideration of a compulsory form of industrial sickness insurance the question of voluntary insurance should be carefully reviewed. . . ."²⁷ The significance of this statement can be judged by the events of the following fifteen years.

In addition to the American Association for Labor Legislation, the one organization in which some officers consistently advocated some form of compulsory health insurance, was the U. S. Public Health Service. Warren and Sydenstricker²⁸ were among the first to base their recommendations on fact-finding studies. In a paper

²¹ In his pamphlet "Facts and Fallacies of Compulsory Health Insurance" (1917), some of the arguments listed were: (1) A Propaganda for Paternalism and Coercion; (2) False Assertions of National Ill-Health; (3) The Menace of Coercive Laws; (4) A Propaganda for State Socialism; (5) A Propaganda for Class Legislation, etc.

²² Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, St. Paul, 1918.

²³ See footnote 11.

²⁴ Address at the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the National Civic Federation, January 22, 1917.

²⁵ The Nicoll Bill.

²⁶ *Proceedings* of the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, 1917.

²⁷ *Proceedings* of the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, 1918.

²⁸ B. S. Warren and E. Sydenstricker, *Health and Insurance: Its Relation to the Public Health*, Public Health Bulletin, 1916.

presented before the American Public Health Association, Dr. Warren said: "Sickness insurance must be compulsory for all employees earning less than a fixed amount per annum. . . . The compulsory feature will probably meet with some criticism as being un-American and contrary to the spirit of America's free institutions. The reply is that this is a social problem and that individual rights must be subordinated to the general good. . . ." In reply to the argument posed even then, that the costs of such insurance would be excessive, imposing an additional burden on the insured, he said: ". . . the average workingman is already spending more than the proposed tax, on account of sickness, and receiving less for his money."²⁹ Dr. Rupert Blue, Surgeon-general of the Service and President of the American Medical Association, said: "Health insurance is the next great step in social legislation"³⁰—a step that has taken us a long time to make.

It is difficult to explain in categorical terms the almost precipitous collapse of the movement by 1920. A number of the following factors were certainly contributory. While many more people became concerned with the problems of medical care than in the preceding period, the country as a whole was neither sufficiently aware of nor interested in them. In other words, the movement was still in no sense popular. Psychologically, therefore, we were not prepared to institute legislation. The war itself was directly responsible for side-tracking interest. More significant, however, was the opposition of medical societies, labor and industry. This opposition continued to grow during the entire war period,

strengthened by the fact that compulsory health insurance in England and elsewhere had demonstrated a number of flaws which were widely exploited by the opponents of the movement in the United States. Their emphasis, then as now, has always been on the weaknesses, never the benefits, of health insurance. This opposition was discounted by the proponents of compulsory health insurance as biased because of psychological and economic self-interest.

IV

The immediate post-war period was one of extreme economic stress—a period when society was in grave danger of losing its ideals and customs, and struck out, therefore, in defense of the established order. During this period of adjustment America was in no position to take up the cudgels for immediate social legislation. Outside of the continued interest by a few special agencies and labor groups, the health insurance movement lay dormant. With returning prosperity, however, there was a resurgent interest in the general problems of social security, which like the first phase of the movement, was largely reformist in character.

During the prosperous post-war period the individuals directly responsible for the health insurance movement devoted themselves to more immediate, practical considerations. The third phase of the movement, therefore, saw two main lines of development: (1) intensive research and study of the problems of medical care by such national organizations as the U. S. Public Health Service,³¹ the Com-

²⁹ B. S. Warren, *Sickness Insurance—Its Relation to Public Health and the Common Welfare*, Reprint 250, U. S. Public Health Reports, January 8, 1915.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* 17, second reference.

³¹ E. Sydenstricker, *A Study of Illness in a General Population Group*, Hagerstown Morbidity Studies, U. S. Public Health Reports, V. 41, No. 39—(September 24, 1926). See other Hagerstown Studies in Public Health Reports V. 42, No. 23, (June 10, 1927); No. 2, (January 14, 1928).

mittee on the Costs of Medical Care, and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; and (2) the establishment of voluntary health insurance plans³² in different sections of the country.

Perhaps the most significant thing during this period was the organization of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, initiated by a small group of physicians, sanitarians, and economists who had long been concerned with the problems of medical care.

Early in 1926 a conference of fourteen people appointed a committee of five³³ to formulate a tentative series of studies concerning the economic aspects of medical service and to establish an organization to carry out these studies. After several preliminary meetings the committee of five called a conference in Washington, May 17, 1927, at the time of the annual meeting of the American Medical Association. About sixty people (physicians, public health officers, social scientists, and representatives of the public) attended, and the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care was created.³⁴ For the greater part of its (5 year) life, the Committee was composed of 48 members who were in no wise "committed to any theories or policies regarding the future organization of medicine."³⁵ It was their

stated intention not to arrive at any conclusion until the facts had been secured, in the belief that "systematic study [would] throw much light on the perplexing problems alluded to, and . . . [the hope] that such study [might] point out the way to a more adequate organization of medical services, both curative and preventive, in the United States."³⁶

After numerous factfinding studies, including a survey of some 40,000 individuals in 18 states, the findings of the Committee³⁷ were published. They comprised virtually the definitive work on the subject and, in a large measure, served as a springboard for the "medical-economic" studies that followed, especially the National Health Survey of 1935-1936. Shortly after the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care started to function, President Hoover organized a Research Committee on Social Trends (1929). Edgar Sydenstricker was assigned to study the problems of health and environment. During this research period came the depression, marking the fourth and present phase of the compulsory health insurance movement.

V

Unlike any other period in our history, the present expresses a marked popular interest in the problems of social security. It is not merely that these problems have increased but that they are spread over a much wider area. The present Roosevelt administration saw a resumption of the reform movement that had been aborted by the World War. "It differed from the . . . period of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson only because reform

³² *New Plans for Medical Care*, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago, 1936.

³³ Michael M. Davis, then Secretary, Committee on Dispensary Development; Walton H. Hamilton, then of the University of Chicago; Harry H. Moore, then of the Brookings Institute; Winford H. Smith, Medical Director, Johns Hopkins Hospital; C. E. A. Winslow, Yale School of Public Health.

³⁴ The operating expenses of research and publication totaling some \$900,000 were met by grants from: The Carnegie Corporation, the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, the Milbank Memorial Fund, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Twentieth Century Fund.

³⁵ The Five-Year Program of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Washington, February, 1928.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ 28 volumes of findings (University of Chicago Press) and some 13 miscellaneous studies were published. The final report was called "Medical Care for the American People."

measures were enacted before recovery had begun, whereas the reform legislation of the earlier period was passed after recovery had been completed. The country was passing through a social readjustment as well as a depression. The Roosevelt philosophy embraced the idea that people must somehow be sustained . . .³⁸ until they could become self-sufficient. More important, however, was the idea that what people wanted more than economic opportunity was economic and social security. To meet this end a general social security program was instituted comprising many of the specific programs that had been urged for the previous thirty years.

In 1932, the final report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care was published.³⁹ It comprised a majority report, representing the opinions of 35 of its 48 members including 17 physicians, and two minority reports—one signed by 8 physicians and 1 layman, and the second submitted by 2 members of the dental profession.

The findings and recommendations of the Committee led the American Medical Association to brand the majority report as "... socialism and communism—inciting to revolution. . ."⁴⁰

It is interesting to observe how the recommendations of the final report served, for the most part, as the basis for the National Health Program. The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, by and large, favored the following essential programs: (1) voluntary health insurance on a group practice basis; (2) an extension of public health services

through governmental and private agencies; and (3) "that the costs of medical care be placed on a group payment basis, through the use of insurance, . . . taxation, or . . . both of these methods. This is not meant to preclude the continuation of medical service provided on an individual fee basis for those who prefer the present method. Cash benefits, i. e. compensation for wage-loss due to illness, if and when provided, should be separate and distinct from medical services." While the Committee allowed the greatest latitude for a medical care program, without urging Federal action, it stated that "... if state action is necessary, there are forty-eight laboratories,"⁴¹ thereby placing fully the responsibility on the states. How these recommendations and specifically the last one compares with the National Health Program will be shown later.

During the past five years a number of significant events in the movement for health insurance have taken place. Legislation was repeatedly introduced, despite setbacks, in California, New York, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Abraham Epstein, long a protagonist of social insurance, was responsible largely for the drafting of a compulsory health insurance bill, which is commonly known as the "Model Bill," by the American Association for Social Security in 1935. This organization, through meetings and education, was responsible for keeping alive the interest in compulsory health insurance. The bill prepared "in cooperation with leading authorities, including interested practitioners"⁴² has been introduced in a score of legislatures.⁴³

³⁸ D. L. Dumond, *Roosevelt to Roosevelt*, (New York, 1937).

³⁹ See footnote 37. In addition there were two other individual reports.

⁴⁰ Editorial, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, V. 99, No. 23 (December 3, 1932).

⁴¹ See footnote 37.

⁴² The Social Security Bill for Health Insurance, American Association for Social Security, New York, 1935.

⁴³ It was revised again in 1939.

The California Medical Association placed itself temporarily on record⁴⁴ favoring compulsory statewide health insurance (1934) and officially sponsored a study of the economic aspects of medical care.⁴⁵ The study by the U. S. Public Health Service,⁴⁶ "a nation-wide canvass of sickness in relation to its social and economic setting,"⁴⁷ covered a larger group than had any previous study: 2,800,000 individuals from 84 cities and 23 rural areas located in 18 states—a representative sample of the total urban and a significant group of the rural population in the United States, and reemphasized strikingly the findings of earlier studies.

The rapid growth of voluntary group practice and cooperative health insurance plans through the United States increased the opposition of the American Medical Association. The events relating to this opposition received wide publicity and ultimately resulted in the indictment of the American Medical Association and its affiliated bodies in Washington⁴⁸ by the Department of Justice late in 1938.⁴⁹ More important than the opposition by the Association was the growing unrest towards the "official" position, arising within the ranks of organized medicine. In 1934 the American College of Surgeons, in taking a stand of its own concerning

voluntary hospital insurance, had been denounced by the general organization.⁵⁰ The schism between these groups was extended further in 1937. These persistent attacks became intensified through the growing interest by the federal government in the problems of medical care,⁵¹ and in a way proved a boomerang. Liberal physicians and laymen became outspoken in their opposition to what they felt was an untenable stand by the American Medical Association. The medical societies of New Jersey and New York in 1937 and 1938 expressed their frank disapproval of certain policies of the parent organization. The Committee of Physicians, now a body of thirty men with more than 1000 physicians as signatories to its policies, signed a statement of "principles and proposals" which

⁵⁰ "That A. M. A.—A. C. S. Split," *Medical Economics* (July, 1934); see also *New England Journal of Medicine*, V. 218, No. 1 (January 6, 1938).

⁵¹ The Committee on Economic Security, forerunner of the Social Security Board, reporting on the question of health, stated: "As a first measure for meeting the very serious problem of sickness in families with low incomes we recommend a national preventive public health program . . . financed by state and local governments and administered by state and local health departments, the Federal government to contribute financial and technical aid. . . The second major step we believe to be the application of the principles of insurance to this problem." Although this recommendation was specific enough and the work of the Committee indicated the need for a national health program, the Committee stated that they were "not prepared. . . to make recommendations for a system of health insurance." Thus with the exception of public health provisions, affirmed by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care and reaffirmed in the National Health Program, health legislation was not included in the Social Security Act that followed. This move was made necessary and politically expedient for the reason that unemployment, old-age, etc. were the pressing issues and, therefore, had to receive first preference. Pressure from organized medicine made the inclusion of health provisions doubly impossible. See: *Report to the President of the Committee on Economic Security*, Washington, 1935.

⁴⁴ P. A. Dodd and E. F. Penrose, *Economic Aspects of Medical Services* (Washington, 1939).

⁴⁵ California Medical-Economic Survey: 1934-1935, California Medical Association, 1937.

⁴⁶ Reports of the National Health Survey, as published in 1938 and 1939, can be procured from the National Health Institute, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

⁴⁷ Preliminary Reports, National Health Survey.

⁴⁸ The specific case was the Group Health Association, Inc., Washington, D. C.

⁴⁹ R. H. Shryock, "Freedom and Interference in Medicine," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia, November, 1938).

declared that medical care of the people is a public concern and advocated several general steps, through public (governmental) action, towards improving the general distribution and quality of care. Labor, because of the position taken by Mr. Gompers some twenty years before, was said to have persistently opposed compulsory health insurance. In 1935, however, after the passage of the Social Security Act, the American Federation of Labor unanimously urged "the enactment of socially constructive health insurance legislation through Congress and the individual States."⁵² A reaffirmation of this stand was made by Dexter Masters at the National Health Conference, when he told the representatives of labor to "go back to their trade unions and work for strong and immediate action to turn these [government's] recommendations into laws, . . . the representatives of the women's clubs and of farm organizations and . . . consumers groups . . . do likewise."⁵³

In July 1938, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities called a National Health Conference. About 170 delegates and many "observers" were present by invitation, including men and women from large organized public groups—labor, farming, industry, women's organizations, civic bodies, social work, public welfare; and from the leading professional bodies concerned with furnishing medical services—physicians, hospital administrators, nurses, etc.

Based on a report and statement of needs by the Technical Committee on

Medical Care, a five point program was offered, aimed at promoting (1) better understanding of national needs in the field of health and medical care; (2) the formulation of policies which would enable the medical profession, private organizations, federal, state, and local agencies, and individual citizens, to co-operate in efforts to meet these needs.

The government presented the following program:

I. A. *Expansion of the Existing Federal-State Co-operative Program Under Title VI (Public Health Work) of the Social Security Act.* i.e. enlarged grants-in-aid to the states for the general development of local health services and for aid on specific health problems.

I. B. *Expansion of the Existing Federal-State Co-operative Program for Maternal and Child Welfare Services Under Title V. Parts 1 and 2, of the Social Security Act.* i.e. larger appropriations under Title V of the Social Security Act, to aid in the medical care of mothers and their new-born infants.

II. *Federal Grants-in-Aid for the Construction of Needed Hospitals and Similar Facilities, and Special Grants on a Diminishing Basis Towards Defraying the Operating Costs of These New Institutions in the First Three Years of Their Existence.*

III. *Federal Grants-in-Aid to the States Toward the Costs of A Medical Care Program for Recipients of Public Assistance and Other Medically Needy Persons.* Like Recommendation II, this proposal contemplated federal grants-in-aid to the states, not federal administration of services.

IV. *Federal Grants-in-Aid to the States Toward the Costs of a More General Medical Care Program.*

V. *Federal Action Toward the Development of Programs of Disability Compensation.*

The Conference proved that large public groups, especially labor, agriculture, women's organizations, were united in affirming the existence of serious unmet medical needs and in favoring private and governmental action to deal with these. Despite the fact that it was stated in advance that no votes would be taken on the recommendations and no resolutions considered, several bodies presented programs of action in statements or resolutions. Representatives of the American

⁵² Report of the Proceedings of the Fifty-Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1935.

⁵³ Proceedings of the National Health Conference, July 18-20, 1938, Washington, D. C.

Medical Association offered cooperation but reaffirmed its position that the *amount of unmet medical needs had not been established* and that large-scale action should wait upon further studies and upon the organized medical profession. A number of physicians, on the other hand, expressed agreement with the lay groups as to the existence of need and the desirability of action, and laid stress on the need for maintaining high medical standards and for educational and organizational measures to this end.

While special programs of voluntary health insurance for hospital care and general medical service were urged by a number of members of the Conference, it is significant to note that the government's program differs from that of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in that it did not include a recommendation on this point, feeling that it "has nowhere shown the possibility of reaching more than a small fraction of those who need . . . protection."⁵⁴ The answer to the nation's health problems was not to be found, therefore, in voluntary efforts.

Considered in the light of this paper, Recommendation IV is significantly patterned after the third recommendation (q.v.) of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. While it does not call for a Federal compulsory health insurance program, it provides that states might receive federal aid if they undertake such a program, to be financed through taxation, insurance, or a combination of both. Thus the setting up of a program of public medical services and compulsory health insurance were not considered "mutually exclusive alternatives. On the contrary, each may have substantial advantages for particular areas or for particular portions of the population to be served."⁵⁵ The

governmental recommendation leaves the entire responsibility of organization and administration of the programs to the states.

The National Health Conference showed the "shift from the private search group [of previous years] to this forum for the expression of opinion, [which] is the most significant result of this Conference; the expression from the body of our citizenship of what they, through their contacts with their membership and in their personal lives, know or believe to be the situation in medical care. Their characteristic expression has been a belief in the urgency of action. The producers of medical care are therefore faced with a new situation."⁵⁶ Post-Conference events showed how strongly popular expression had developed, with the meeting of discussion and lecture groups and the calling of citizens' health conferences in Michigan, New Jersey, and New York. The recognition by the American Medical Association of four of the five (exclusive of Recommendation IV) National Health Program recommendations was another significant development. In practical terms, the introduction of national legislation, with one bill⁵⁷ patterned closely on the Federal-State relationships brought out at the Conference, was the third significant event.

The growth of voluntary health and hospital insurance plans, continued research on the problems of medical care, extreme popular interest in these problems, and governmental action characterize the present stage of the health insurance movement. Unlike thirty years ago when wage loss from disability was considered

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* From a speech by Michael M. Davis.

⁵⁷ Senator Wagner's "National Health Bill." Another bill introduced by Senator Capper (also in 1939) is essentially the "Model Bill" of the American Association for Social Security.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

the most important element in health security, what the people of America appear to want today is good medical care for large groups of the population and the protection against high cost.

VI

Social movements such as this represent reactions on the part of individuals and groups to unsatisfactory conditions in social life. They develop as an effort to bring about harmony. The growing awareness on the part of the public that, as consumers of medical services, they have the privilege, in fact, the right to say something about the circumstances under which they shall pay for medical care, will undoubtedly result in the realization of some health program.

Sociology teaches us that, when cultural development tends to harden into institutions, the needs of a changing society are

not met. We have seen the tendency of those in authority to support institutions even when they have become inflexible and fossilized. If any part of the individual philosophy of medical service is to survive, the entire system of medical care must be recast to meet the needs and demands of society as a whole.

The various stages in the drive for health security show that reformist motives initiated the movement. In its second stage, while the analysis of the problems predominated, the premature legislative efforts almost brought the movement to a precipitous collapse. Development of voluntary health insurance plans as an alternative, as well as the results of factfinding surveys, marked the third stage and paved the way for action. The stage is now set to see whether America is really ready to take this "next great step in social legislation."

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family line? Is there any insanity or tuberculosis? Is she chaste? Is there any serious criminal history in her family? Is the girl humble and obedient? Does she know how to bring up children? Will she know how to serve and obey her husband? Will she be pleasantly subject to her mother-in-law? Let it be remembered that the go-between is held strictly responsible for the success or failure of the union. The size and nature of the honorarium paid him by his employers depends not infrequently upon the degree of success that is attained. But what is success? The birth of children, of course,—sons by all means, but rather than no children, daughters also. It is always the supreme duty of the oldest son to become the head of the family. If there is no son but daughters only, the oldest daughter provides a head of the family by having her family legally adopt a son from some other family that has sons to spare. This adopted son will become the husband of the daughter and will, of course, take the family-name of his wife; and the children that are born to the union will bear the mother's name. Thus the ancestors of this family will have satisfactory worshippers though they were secured somewhat indirectly; but it would seem that the shades are obliged to wink at such slight irregularities as these.

If no children at all are born to a union, the bride's position is totally miserable, and frequently her husband's family returns her to her own family without the benefit of the court. It still is immensely easier in Japan for the husband to secure a divorce than for the wife to do so.

But let the reader not suppose that these ancient mores, though still so strong, are unaffected by the materialistic onslaughts of the present day. The industrial revolution which is now in full swing in Japan is making sad havoc of many of the things that formerly were considered sacred and eternal. The very purpose, form, size, and solidarity of the family are all undergoing revolutionary changes today. New Institutions are perforce in the making,—not only in Japan but throughout the world.

Catawba College

ALLEN K. FAUST

SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE OUTSIDE EMPLOYER IN THE SOUTHERN INDUSTRIAL PATTERN

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THE industrial development of the South is still regarded as new. Compared with some regions of the United States it is, though a few communities have been accommodating themselves to industry for nearly a century; many have been doing so for half that long, while a few are just feeling the impact of an industrial development.

The process in the formation of attitudes in the South toward manufacturing is older even than these older and other newer industries. Waves of interest in manufacturing and efforts to encourage it in nullification days, in the agricultural depression of the 1840's and after the Civil War, roused discussion that contributed to the creation of the industrial pattern of the South.

During each of these periods of discussion the economic and social phases of manufacturing were set forth, each time with increasing vigor and thoroughness. I have had occasion to examine newspapers, speeches, pamphlets, special bulletins, and reports of these various periods and I find that every argument for, and every idealization of industry that broke out in such a rash of advertising—formal and informal—in the South

during the post World War period had been voiced before 1850 and a thousand times after that date. If you tell people for seventy-five years that mills and factories will create thriving happy towns, build schools and churches, uplift the poor white trash—or give opportunity to the purest Anglo-Saxons, whichever you prefer—they will begin to see in the partial fulfillment of these dreams a justification for the oratorical flights. The need was so great and the accomplishment so welcome that no one can blame the South for growing into an attitude of vigorous approbation of the entrepreneurs and their profitable, philanthropic, and socializing methods.

These methods and the community pattern they created were the product of several lines of tradition combined with local conditions. Textiles, which was the first factory industry to develop in the South, received part of its tradition from England and New England. Housing and village communities, Sunday schools and night classes, commissaries, sanitary regulations, child labor, working mothers, employment of whole families, physical and social isolation—these were the direct inheritances from the older

areas. The slave plantation economy had accustomed the South and its prospective mill managers to a system which combined paternalistic responsibility with profitable control. The social attitude toward the classes from which the operatives were chiefly drawn made the isolation seem desirable, the controls necessary and any sort of profitable employment socially good.

So neatly did the system fit the South that, even when mills ceased to be built at isolated waterfalls and were established beside towns in order to be near railroads, the pattern persisted. It found its full fruition in the textile industry, though most of the attitudes, if not the physical equipment, permeated the relations of other industries with the public and with their employees.

So strong did the pattern become that the occasional outside management coming to the South adopted it more or less as a matter of course. There were a good many of these just before and after 1900, and again after the World War. All, whether arriving early or late, whether building a new plant and community, or fitting themselves into the shells of an old one they had purchased, accepted the established tradition in general and many of its specific manifestations.

For example, there is the matter of housing. Textile companies coming to the South took for granted that they must house the majority of their employees as all cotton mills in the South did. They may have been convinced that it was necessary and desirable—that the securing of a steady, experienced working force and the controls which a company village insured more than made up for the responsibilities and the investment of the capital. Many, like Johnson and Johnson, Beacon Manufacturing Company, and Boger and Crawford, went

further than most southern mills in building landscaped villages, more substantial houses with more modern conveniences than were common. Companies acquiring old mills and older villages sometimes improved them greatly, as the Kendall Company, or at least continued them along much the same lines, as B. B. and R. Knight and Manville-Jenckes. The operation of these housing projects carried along with it the usual village set-up and welfare work. The range and variety in these activities varies among outside owned mills, but no more than among native ones.

The rayon industry, though not strictly in the cotton mill tradition, adopted much of the pattern at Hopewell, Virginia, Old Hickory, Tennessee, and Enka, North Carolina. Even industries unrelated to the textile tradition accepted many of its features. The United States Steel Company purchased mills and mines in Alabama in 1907, and continued to house employees, run commissaries, issue script just as the original company had done. In addition it has carried on some typically southern company activities such as encouraging gardens by supplying land, seeds, work animals and offering prizes for the best garden. The Aluminium Company of America built a new town at Badin, North Carolina, and likewise adopted the regular pattern of housing and village set-up, along with that characteristically southern custom of placing the whites and Negroes in separate villages.

All this is true not only in the main outlines but in many details. For example, one northern manager, whose southern home at his mill in North Carolina is surrounded by gardens, had made a point of giving seeds, plants, and cuttings to his villagers. These aids and his example have made it one of the pleasant-

est looking villages in the State. Even a man like Henry P. Kendall, a Taylor Society Scientific Management man, who took over old mills and reconditioned them to a high point of efficiency, adopted the custom of the country by accepting and improving his villages, his local manager fostering recreation and community programs and helping to build churches, all just as the native southern owners have done.

Outside owners also adopt most of the attitudes held by the natives. For along with all these outer trappings there is much the same paternalistic spirit of taking care of the people, of responsibility and its accompanying controls in policies of operation. For example, plants in the South when short of work have generally reduced output, not by lopping off a fourth or a half of the working force at one fell swoop, but by reducing the days of operation. This is a natural policy when a working force is gathered around the mill with no other probable or even possible employment as might be assumed in a city industrial area. Outside owners have adopted this policy.

A striking adoption of southern custom is the attitude toward unions and unionization. Of course most of them brought opposition with them; in some cases it was part of the reason for coming South. But the manifestations are distinctly in the native southern fashion: putting organizers out of company villages, prevention of meetings on company property, and eviction from company houses for union activity. The reverse of the coin is also true. So far as I have ever learned, no outside company has been accused of bringing the typically northern labor tactics of a detective agency. The only two cases I have heard of—one in Georgia which seems pretty well authenticated, and one in North Carolina where it was

vigorously charged by labor—were native southern managements of several generations' standing. Of course plants in the South did not greatly need such a measure since there has been, at least until recent years, little union activity and labor trouble. With the exclusively local labor supply outsiders are so conspicuous that the importation of employees of detective agencies as strike breakers or even as labor spies is rather impractical. There have been in the recent years of union activity charges by labor of companies employing local or at least southern workers as spies and stool pigeons, but these charges are made against locally and outside owned plants alike.

Perhaps an even more striking evidence of the adoption of local ways has been the practice of employing southern superintendents and supervisors by outside owners. In the early days of mills the dearth of technical skill caused some mill owners to employ a superintendent, a dyer, or some other skilled textile man from New England or England, but there was even then some comment on the fact that these "foreigners" did not know how to manage southern labor. The practice declined relatively as the industry grew and skill developed. Outside companies coming to the South have usually sent, and still send, a manager who is financial man or liaison officer between the parent company and the new branch, or is in charge of distribution of goods. Most superintendents and practically all foremen, however, are native southern men. This custom was at once an evidence of the adoption of the southern pattern and a means by which many of the details of the pattern were put into practice.

It is not within the compass of this paper to argue the old and yet perennially new point of the desirability or the evils of the paternalistic activities, attitudes

and controls of outside and native managements alike. The thesis for the moment is the fact that the outside owners are strikingly like the native in general and even in detail. The widely scattered examples of each phase of this general thesis have been presented to show that the practice is common throughout the South and that the one company and community to be described is by no means a deviation from the norm.

The community is really a composite, being made up of the three towns of Leaksville, Spray and Draper. They are located in Rockingham County, North Carolina, near the Virginia line, some twenty miles from Danville, Virginia, in the western part of the Piedmont. When Colonel William Byrd was surveying the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia in 1728 he named the beautiful fertile valleys in that neighborhood the Land of Eden. Nearly a century later interest in water transportation resulted in a boom, in 1818, to build a town at the confluence of the Smith and Dan Rivers. The town of Leaksville was laid out on the bluffs above their junction at the head of bateau navigation of the Dan River. Lots on the water front sold for as high as \$1,000 and \$2,000. But the hopes did not materialize and Leaksville, the boom town, settled down as a quiet, slowly growing hamlet. It was not even incorporated until 1874, for generations before and after a sleepy southern country town with its little business and professional group gradually growing up and taking its place as "society" and the part of the community that counted.

At the rapids above Leaksville a grist mill had been built before the Leaksville boom. By 1838 John Motley Morehead had added a saw mill, a store, and a cotton mill with tenements for workers. For

the next half century this community, called Spray, grew beside Leaksville. It was described with approbation in the public prints of a wide region as an example of what industry would do for the South and its people. Another mill or two was added by Morehead's sons and associates and more people came in from the vicinity to man them.

By the 1890's mill building had become the fashion in the South. The Morehead properties were now in the hands of the granddaughter of the founder and her husband, B. F. Mebane, a born promoter and supersalesman. Every few years he built a new mill until there were nine or ten in Spray, and started a new town called Draper with two mills and its accompanying complement of houses some four or five miles down the railroad toward Danville.

Southern mills of the day were notoriously short of working capital, a deficiency which delivered them into the hands of the commission and wholesale houses from whom they received advances with which to manufacture the goods sold to and through those agents. Mebane, with his mill building activities, was unusually dependent upon them, while his ability as a promoter and a salesman made it easy for him to secure these loans and advances. One of his largest creditors was Marshall Field and Company of Chicago, who, as one of Mebane's friends put it, let him have large sums at nice fat rates of interest against goods that he was to deliver. During the tight times of the panic of 1907 his difficulties mounted and one after another of the mills he built—all operating as individual units—were put up at auction. Marshall Field purchased them to protect its loans and by 1910 was in the manufacturing business in North

Carolina with eight mills making a variety of products at Spray and Draper.

Marshall Field sent only one man to Spray, Mr. E. D. Pitcher, who had already seen some twenty years service with the Company in Chicago. He came as treasurer and financial head of the subsidiary company operating the eight plants. For the rest the Company took over Mebane's organization, workers, foremen, superintendents, technical men and all. Changes which it made were so gradual that the sense of continuity was unbroken. This is conclusively proved by the attitude of the employees toward their service records. In 1919 when the Personnel Department was inaugurated and all the then employees were interviewed for the records, long service workers responded to the question "When first employed by the Company" with such remarks as "Why, I helped build Nantucket Mill," or "I ran the first set of looms in Lily Mill," and many gave dates well before Marshall Field bought the mills and formed the company to operate them. The company itself has recognized its tie with the past of its units: during the depression one of the plants was shut down and the workers were given a dismissal wage based partly on wage rate and partly on length of service, the latter including total service extending back into the days of Mebane's ownership. When the recent, much publicized reorganization of the entire Marshall Field and Company and its subsidiaries was being made, some of the longest service men were retired on pensions, and the extra years that gave them longer service than their fellows had been before Marshall Field bought the mills.

All this does not mean that over a period of time there was not considerable change both in policy and in activities. It only means that when the outside

ownership took charge it made a minimum of changes at once. Many of those which were gradually made were of the kind going on in other southern plants, so that the new owners were simply keeping, as well as starting, in the local pattern.

One of these developments was the growth of welfare work. Before 1910 few companies in the South had much in the way of a definite welfare program, though many, by the personal attention of the owner to his small village, did a number of the things which were later more systematically carried on by regularly constituted departments. Mr. Mebane was not one of these. Housing was his only important extramill activity. As one worker of that day said, "We sort of looked after each other," passing the hat among the fellow workers for the sick and needy.

Around 1910 plants in the South began to do more to aid schools, promote health and provide recreation facilities. The new company joined in this trend, gradually adding more and more facilities until it has become one of the leaders in its area in welfare activities. As the plants were enlarged and more houses were necessary, the company joined in the procession toward better housing, including in the 1920's a sizeable development in the currently approved manner—varied bungalows pleasantly located on streets winding about the rolling land.

A few years before Marshall Field acquired the majority of the mills in Spray the various companies in the community formed the Spray Civic Association, a corporation through which many of the welfare activities are carried on and paid for by the cooperating companies on a pro rata basis. Like most southern mill towns, the towns of Spray and Draper are unincorporated and some of the Associa-

tion's functions are those carried on by town governments, though taxing and courts are under county government. The Association is empowered "to employ deputy sheriffs to act as police at Spray under the provisions of existing laws." Marshall Field accepted this machinery and the community of Spray has operated under it ever since.

Just after the World War the company built two new mills on the edge of Leaksville opposite from Spray. Concerning this development the feelings of the people of Leaksville were decidedly mixed. They were proud of the growth it had evidenced, glad of the extra business and of the new positions in the office and management which it created. But having mills in the front yard as well as the back was not so good.

So, briefly, the background of the making of the community. And now equally briefly a cross section view of its present as relates to its industry and the part of the industry in the community.

The three towns have a population of around 14,000. There are twelve plants employing a total of 5,650 workers. Eight of the largest of these employing nearly 5,000 people belong to Marshall Field. These plants make and finish a wide variety of cotton, wool, and silk fabrics, including rugs. Most of the plants operate on two shifts of forty hours and a five day week, according to the voluntary agreement made by the textile industry following the collapse of N. R. A. The company owns 1,263 houses and secures slightly less than two workers per house, about the average for the South. It houses 51 percent of the employees, a considerably smaller proportion than in many mills. Nearly 12 percent are home owners, and they house about an equal number as roomers or boarders, making another fourth of the employees. The

remaining fourth is divided roughly equally between renters from private landlords and boarders in their homes. Of the 49 percent not housed in company houses somewhat over a fourth live in the country and drive in to work.

The workers in these mills have always been chiefly from the immediate locality or from the counties to the west and north extending to the foothills and mountains. As time has passed and a new generation has grown up, more and more are from the three towns themselves. According to a tabulation made by the writer from the personnel records in September 1937 nearly 23 percent gave Leaksville, Spray or Draper as their birthplace. Over 18 percent gave Rockingham County, a part of whom may have been born in one of the towns. Thus 41 percent were from a single county; 38 percent more were from counties touching on Rockingham. If we omit the southern and eastern counties which are either chiefly agricultural or have considerable industry, and take Rockingham and the six counties to the north and west we account for 81 percent of the workers. This is probably a somewhat higher proportion of purely local workers than in most southern mills, and is to be accounted for by the surplus agricultural labor and the fact that the mills are located at the extreme northern end of the southern textile area. Only 217 were from states other than North Carolina and Virginia and only four were foreign born—all English. Among the younger workers this concentration in the immediate locality is even more noticeable.

Ages were available for 4,921 of the 4,961 employees. Of these 147, 2.9 percent, were under 18 years of age. The company employs no one under 16. The average age is slightly over 31 years, with 67.6 percent under 35, and 4 percent over

55. Of the 194 over 55 years, 80 were 60 years old or over and 12 were 70 years old or over. The plants vary greatly in age groupings of the workers. In the finishing plant, for example, only 58 percent were under 35, while in the rug mill 76 percent, and in the silk mill, 79.7 percent were under 35. These latter were processes recently introduced in the locality, required different and somewhat higher skill, and so offered opportunity for better wages as well as being the chief departments taking on workers during the depression. It was natural, therefore, both from the point of view of the company and of the workers that the jobs should be filled largely by younger people. In addition there was a certain prestige in these new jobs which made them popular with young people of the towns.

In the textile industry of the world, women make up 52 percent of the workers; in the United States they constitute 41.6 percent. In the three towns of this community 38.9 percent are women. A large number of the women are married, but no exact statistics on this point are available. Regarding education, there are some 250, or 5 percent, who cannot read and write, most of them among the older workers. In 1922 about 10 percent of the workers had been in high school; in 1932 the number had grown to 19 percent, and though not counted recently, it is believed to be considerably higher now. Wages average between \$16.00 and \$17.00 a week for all employees, with spinners averaging \$15.00 and weavers over \$20.00.

In the field of labor relations the picture up to the present has been typically southern, though as will be seen, the policy has in some respects been more intelligent than in many southern mills. Although the company as a whole is

larger than average, the individual plants, each with its own superintendent and manager, are not larger than the average in the South. They are small enough for many of the workers to know the head men personally. In fact, personal acquaintance is probably more common than usual because most of the managers and superintendents have always been long service men coming up through the ranks, and have lived in the community most of their lives. Many of the workers are also long service employees. Therefore, the lines of contact and accessibility for requests and grievances have been perhaps a little more direct and real than in the average southern mill. At any rate the practice of going to the superintendent or manager with all sorts of problems is fairly common. Labor turnover for the group of mills was around 28 percent in 1937, up from 20 to 24 percent during the depths of the depression. These figures are about the same as for the group of mills whose turnover is followed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In some of the plants it is much less than the average for the company and is probably down to an irreducible minimum.

In the quarter century of Marshall Field ownership there have been probably half a dozen little unorganized walkouts of groups of workers in single departments. These have been adjusted with a minimum of delay—a few hours or, the longest the writer knows of, lasting a few days for part of the disaffected group. Just after the World War textile organization reached a new high in the South, but the center was around Charlotte, a hundred and fifty miles away. It reached this community in the form of a chartered local, but there were no demands and no recognition. This area was not affected by the textile strike of 1921. The organ-

izing campaign of the late 1920's also centered farther South and culminated in the bloody strikes of Gastonia and Marion. During 1930 union activity in Danville resulted in the organization of the great Dan River Mills and in a long strike. At that time organizers came to the three towns, secured considerable following at Draper, and set up a local there. Whether it would have resulted in definite demands is uncertain since the activity collapsed with the failure of the strike in Danville. There were rumors among the workers charging that some persons who were later laid off or discharged, ostensibly for other reasons, were really dismissed because of union activity. There were, however, none of the more seriously repressive measures commonly charged, such as arrest of organizers by company paid police and the prohibition of union meetings on company property which, for Draper, would have meant the entire village.

In the whirlwind campaign of 1934 culminating in the great textile strike in September with its accompaniment of flying squadrons, national guards and some bloodshed, there was no walkout in the plants of this community. Indeed the workers showed less interest in this than in the earlier waves of organization. Nor was this community visited by flying squadrons shutting down plants, though there was talk that it would be. The management was watchfully waiting but there were no machine guns commanding streets leading to the mills as there were in some plants operated by southern owners.

The response of the textile workers in the South to organization since 1929 represents, in the main, the protest against the "stretch out," the application of scientific management principles to the redivision of duties and the realign-

ment of jobs according to time studies. The Marshall Field mills were gradually introducing these changes just as other mills in the South were. There was some dissatisfaction, some complaints that the jobs were "tougher" and "run you to death," and some fear of demotion to the unskilled part of the newly divided jobs. That these feelings never became general among the workers or reached a very high pitched seems evident from the fact that these three successive waves of strikes did not touch this company. Several factors contributed to this. One was undoubtedly the local nature of the labor supply. The wage scale was another. Wages in the three large groups of mills which form the northern point of the southern textile area, Dan River, Marshall Field, and the Cone Mills at Greensboro, have long been above the average for the southern industry as a whole. A third was the fact that the changes in job alignment were accompanied by the better ordering of machinery and materials which true scientific management contemplates. A fourth was the fact that they were made very gradually and with at least a reasonable amount of educating the employees to an understanding of the economic forces that were compelling textiles in general and their own mills in particular to introduce modern management methods in an industry that had lagged far behind the other great modern industries in this respect.

It was noted above that this description of labor relation policies and experiences applied "up to the present." Two new factors have recently entered the situation which may make a difference in the future. In the reorganization of the whole of the Marshall Field group of interests which took place during the Middle 1930's, the local manufacturing

subsidiary, the Carolina Cotton and Woolen Mills Company, was abolished, and the mills in North Carolina along with plants in other parts of the country are now known as Marshall Field and Company, Manufacturing Division.

The other factor appeared even more recently. Organizers formerly concentrated their efforts at sore spots in an industry, especially if the workers there had given any evidence of active discontent and hence of their susceptibility to organization. Since the rise of the C. I. O. with its spectacular triumphs in contests with some of the most famous companies of America, labor tactics have undergone something of a change. The leaders have learned to appreciate the publicity value of nationally known names, and Marshall Field is better known than Carolina Cotton and Woolen Mills Co. The aims and activities of labor are sure of much advertisement during a contest whatever the outcome. If a great company wins over the union that is more proof of the power of big business; if the union wins it gains prestige before a wide public and even more among other companies in the same field, often resulting in capitulation by the lesser firms. Thus such a company feels considerable responsibility to its group as well as to its own labor policy. Southern textile managers believe that the protective laws and, in the case of this company the long established policy of providing good working conditions and paying as high wages as the competitive state of the industry will allow, secure for the employees quite as much as the union could. Union leaders in former efforts in the South, and more recently the C. I. O. leaders outside the South, have by no means established sufficient reputation for unselfish singleness of purpose and for responsibility to be reassuring

to employers with long-standing opposition to unionism. Southern textile managers also believe in the fundamental reasonableness of southern workers and their ability to understand the pros and cons of the situation if it is fully explained to them. But they have to remember that the National Labor Relations Board interprets such educational work by employers as company and anti-union propaganda. The union has been actively organizing the workers at Leaksville, Spray, and Draper. In elections called by the National Labor Relations Board in some of the plants during the early part of 1938 the C. I. O. won by majorities ranging from 52 percent to 66 percent. The new depression in textiles, however, with short time and layoffs, discouraged too much militancy in following up this victory for some months. When mills became more active in the fall of 1938 the union began efforts to function as the bargaining agency. The situation has elements which may lead to considerable change.

In addition to its purely economic importance as the employer of some 5,000 workers, Marshall Field and Company occupies a position of consequence in the community in other respects. The most obvious, of course, is its systematized welfare work. The sort of activities which southern cotton mills carry on among their workers is so familiar that brief reference to them is sufficient to show how they conform to the southern pattern.

The recreation program centers in a Y. M. C. A. which has four branches, one each in Leaksville and Draper and two in Spray to accommodate a sprawling town. Basketball, baseball, golf, bowling, gymnastics and swimming, movies, bands, libraries, clubs, and boy scout troupes, are among the activities. The

company has for many years employed visiting nurses to give group instruction in care of the sick and to aid in the home when necessary. A Mutual Aid Society, with membership and weekly contributions optional, provides hospitalization for the whole family. The company provides the local fourth of the funds for vocational classes under the Smith-Hughes Act, and such classes on technical mill subjects have been popular since 1919. There are frequently classes for illiterates and continuation school classes for the more advanced students. In the fall of 1937 the company started a textile school in which local boys and girls who desire it are taught designing, pattern cutting and setting and the operation of several machines. Two years ago a credit union bank was established to serve as a depository for savings and to enable workers to secure small loans without resort to loan sharks. With company backing several cooperative groups have recently been formed to encourage home building and home ownership, and over a hundred houses have been erected under those plans. There are other miscellaneous activities too numerous to list.

All such activities are, of course, carried on by a staff employed for the purpose but under the supervision of the managers and this work has always had their close personal and informal interest. As is the case in all other southern industrial centers their positions in the company make them important citizens of the community. They have always taken an active interest in general community affairs. Mr. Pitcher, the treasurer, the one referred to as the only man sent by Marshall Field, has always been an informal leader to whom groups and movements have turned for encouragement and contributions. L. W. Clark, a New Englander, who came to the mills

as a designer under Mebane and rose to be a general manager, was regarded as a Marshall Field man because most people had forgotten that he had been there in a minor position before the plants changed hands. He was for 20 years superintendent of a Sunday School and taught a Sunday School class and was for years chairman of the local school board. Other plant managers, mostly local men and all southern, have taken active part in the churches, schools, and other community affairs. This is true also for most of the superintendents and other key men. In all this the conformity with the southern pattern is complete. In the recent reorganization the head of the local management has brought in a dozen or more men from wherever he could find them for technical jobs for which there were no local men available. These newcomers from New England, New York, Chicago, and other places are already taking an active part in church and in other affairs and making places for themselves in the community.

The former owner, Mr. Mebane, was active in politics, and as owner of other local mills continued this interest until his death a few years ago, but the managers of Marshall Field have never shown more interest than the average civic minded citizen. In the South mill owners used to be accused of "voting" their employees and one still hears this charge occasionally. I have heard in this community casual remarks to the effect that "if the company wants so and so they can have the employees vote for it." Undoubtedly the power to influence the voting of employees exists but I have never heard of a specific instance in which any official of the company was accused of bringing pressure to bear, urging or even as an employer requesting them to vote for a measure or a candidate. On

the other hand, I remember one instance in which something of the reverse happened. In the early 1920's the local school board, headed by L. W. Clark, general manager of the mills, called an election on the issuance of bonds for much needed school buildings. Mr. Clark campaigned valiantly, speaking for it all over the community. Despite his prestige as representative of the largest employer and largest taxpayer in the community, local real estate owners were able to rally enough of their friends to defeat the issue.

The question naturally arises does the community regard Marshall Field as a giant that owns most of the place and wants to run it all. It could hardly be a community of some 14,000 humans without some of them at some time voicing such a sentiment. I have heard indirectly that an occasional opponent of some specific thing the company was doing has said this, but I lived in the community for three and a half years, and as head of the personnel department, was in contact with hundreds—I almost said thousands—of people of every station in life, and I never heard it said. I have heard fairly frequently the opposite of this sentiment, namely, "Marshall Field is a big concern with plenty of money—let them do such and such a thing." The fact that Spray and Draper are unincorporated makes this a natural variant of the American slogan of "let George do it."

In general the community is proud of its great company, its progressiveness, its good business methods that keep it going and growing—just as proud and as friendly as if it were a local concern. In fact I think they are a bit proud of this relation with a great nationally and internationally known company. When the local mills were legally Carolina Cotton and Woolen Mills Company most people

referred to it locally as "Marshall Field" for short, and when the employees of the company from high to low were away from home they invariably identified themselves with Marshall Field rather than the less known local company. The fortunes of most of the people in the three towns making up this composite community are directly or indirectly tied up with it. It furnishes employment not only for the 5,000 who man the machines but for many others in offices, clerical and minor executive positions. The merchant, the garage man, the doctor, the lawyer, the preacher, the real estate owner, the lumberman, the carpenter all have a demand for their goods and services because its army of employees have for the most part steady work at fairly good wages.

This does not mean that the three communities do not have very decided opinions and attitudes toward each other. As I suggested in the historical sketch of the town, Leaksville always felt superior to the cotton mill town of Spray even though the latter was growing far faster, even though many members of the superior feeling families went to Spray daily to work in its mill offices. The invisible line held for nearly every one, and though the head executives lived in Spray they lived very close to that invisible line.

For a long time Spray accepted its inferior position. Its citizens returning from Danville on the little branch railroad would buy a ticket to Leaksville a mile or two farther on rather than admit even to a station agent that they lived in Spray. With better housing, better schools, and higher wages during the last decade or so there is not as much difference now as there used to be and Spray is getting over its inferiority complex.

Besides, Spray has Draper to look down

upon and Draper is a rather typical company mill town—few home owners, few tradesmen and office workers, few who do not swarm into the mill when the whistle blows. Its population has been less settled and permanent, as its processes are more like those in other cotton mills and floaters could come and go with great ease when jobs were more plentiful.

The part of the community that was for a long time relegated to the limbo by both Spray and Leaksville was New Leaksville. Flanking Leaksville on its free side, it was for some years a mill village apart from even if touching the town. It had its own school and church, recreation center and movies. About twelve years ago a new school was built in a beautiful grove between the old and new town and, horror of horrors, the re-districting resulted in many Leaksville children being assigned to it. The ire of the parents at having to send their children to school with mill children was a measure of the social distance. But the school was new and better than their old one and they soon learned that New Leaksville had a grand swimming pool

at its "Y." Presently the rug mill began to grow by leaps and bounds and needed, at very nice wages, the deft hands and keen eyes of young women to set elaborate patterns—at designing if you will—nice respectable work not like a cotton mill at all. And so gradually New Leaksville is becoming a part of the community, too.

And though they have their minor jealousies they also have considerable community solidarity. They have a single township school system, a tri-city baseball team, a tri-city newspaper, and they took from William Byrd the name for their valley—the Land of Eden. Most of all they are bound together by the strongest bond of all, their economic interest in the mills that furnish them a livelihood. This outside company is not only the motive power of the community but has made itself so much a part of the community, so much like other communities in which some of the workers have lived that, except for the little pardonable vanity of working for a world known firm, they never think of it as really an outside company at all.

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PUBLIC OPINION

W. BROOKE GRAVES

Temple University

- PUBLIC OPINION. By William Albig. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939. 486 pp. \$4.00.
- PUBLIC OPINION IN A DEMOCRACY. By Charles W. Smith. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 398 pp. \$3.00.

After more than a decade of intensive study of public opinion, a group of texts

is forthcoming, of which the two titles listed here are the first to appear. One is written by a Mid-Western sociologist, the other by a political scientist from the South. In general, Professor Albig seems to have produced much the more substantial work. Both books, however, are

well written and readable, and attractively printed; on these two points, the Smith volume seems somewhat preferable. Both have divided their material into approximately the same number of chapters, there being twenty-three in Albig, twenty-four in Smith. Both authors have used documentation with moderation; have presented at the ends of their respective volumes, classified lists of selected references; and have included suitable indices. The Albig reference lists are much more adequate.

Published with titles so similar, it is a curious commentary upon the general lack of agreement on the outlines of the subject that the two books, although written from quite different points of view, should nevertheless overlap so little. The Albig volume is concerned with the nature of public opinion, its formation and control (three chapters), with the principal media of communication (seven chapters), and with propaganda and pressure groups (three chapters). Smith, on the other hand, concerns himself chiefly with government and public opinion,—with these problems which arise in the field of opinion formation and control, from the point of view of the student of government. Albig has two introductory chapters; Smith, three. More or less parallel chapters appear in the two volumes on leadership (one chapter in Albig, two in Smith); radicalism; sectionalism; attitudes, opinion, and opinion measurement (four chapters in Albig, one in Smith, emphasizing straw votes); censorship (two chapters in Albig, one and a half in Smith); pressure groups (called interest groups in Albig); propaganda (three chapters in Albig, half of one in Smith); radio; the press. Eleven of Albig's chapters have no parallel in

Smith, while twelve of Smith's have no parallel in Albig.

The arrangement of chapters is poor in both volumes. Of seven chapters on media of communication in Albig, three are scattered, and four are grouped together near the end, when they might more logically follow the discussion of the nature of public opinion. The chapters on measurement appear in the middle, when they would seem naturally to come at or near the end. Censorship, which is normally invoked after the process of opinion formation is well advanced, precedes chapters on pressure groups and propaganda in Albig, and in Smith, even precedes any discussion of communication. Smith, for no apparent reason, separates by seven chapters, discussions of public opinion in war time and public opinion and international relations. Other instances might be cited.

The problem of selection always becomes difficult when one attempts to present at length specific illustrative problems. Although coercion and corruption are the alternative methods of control when persuasion fails, Albig devotes a chapter to the former, but makes no mention of the latter. Smith devotes a chapter to public opinion and the Supreme Court, although he might quite as appropriately have considered public opinion and social security, public opinion and the institution of private property, or public opinion and executive leadership. Both authors emphasize the importance of sectional influences. Once selected, however, Albig commonly gives a far more adequate treatment of his subject than does Smith. This becomes quite clear when one examines carefully parallel chapters in the two books, as on such topics as radio and the press—or indeed, the discussion on the nature of

public opinion itself. Albig devotes six pages to a scholarly analysis of the difficulties involved in defining the term, while Smith concludes that "possibly the theorists of public opinion have made their definitions of the public unduly complicated and technical." (page 13)

Some of the omissions in the two volumes are interesting and quite as significant as some of the inclusions. Presumably both authors aimed at a reasonably complete coverage of their subject, yet neither one, in discussing the nature and scope of public opinion, has anything to say of the important role of discussion, or on the influence of hereditary and environmental factors. When they consider organized social institutions and the numerous media of communication, Albig omits several important ones (school, organized religion, the spoken word) and Smith covers only the radio and the press. The coverage of pressure groups and propaganda is probably less adequate in both volumes than the importance of the subject would seem to require. Albig avoids most aspects of government and public opinion, covering only leadership and censorship. Smith, in considering types of political personalities, discusses leaders and demagogues (whom he calls "rabble rousers") but has nothing to say about reformers. The first two of his three chapters on public opinion in the party process would better find a place in a parties text than in one on public opinion. There is no adequate discussion of the nature and influence of the lobby.

In no other aspect of the field has such extensive progress been made during the last few years, as in the development of

techniques for ascertaining and measuring public opinion. Smith's treatment of this subject is wholly inadequate, being confined largely to a historical sketch of the procedure used in straw votes. Even here, there is no discussion of the principles involved. Albig, on the other hand, covers the subject well, discussing in successive chapters, attitudes and opinion; the different types of tests used for the measurement of opinion; the construction and use of attitude scales for the measurement of individual opinion and of sampling procedures used in ascertaining and measuring group opinion; and the phenomenon of opinion change, in which he deals in a scientific manner with the principles governing straw polls. Fifty years ago, Bryce was doubtful whether methods for ascertaining and measuring public opinion would ever be devised; sufficient progress in the development of such techniques has been made so that we may now consider methods of incorporating them into our established governmental machinery.

The publication of these two books is an indication of a very wholesome and encouraging interest in the subject of public opinion—for the writing and publishing of textbooks is usually an indication that courses in a given field are being offered. It is encouraging also that several different academic disciplines—history, political science, sociology, psychology—continue their interest in public opinion, which cuts across so many of the conventional lines. If this academic interest filters down to the rank and file of citizens, it should provide some substantial assistance in improving the actual operation of popular government in this country.

POPULATION ANALYSIS

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RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS. By Dorothy Swaine Thomas. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 43, 1938. 423 pp. \$2.00.

CITYWARD MIGRATION. By Jane Moore. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1938. 140 pp. \$2.00.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES. By Rupert B. Vance. New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 42, 1938. 134 pp. \$1.00.

NEEDED POPULATION RESEARCH. By P. K. Whelpton. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Science Press Printing Company, 1938. 196 pp. \$1.00.

FRANCE FACES DEPOPULATION. By Joseph J. Spengler. Durham: Duke University Press, 1938. 313 pp. \$3.00.

It should be apparent that rapid and significant developments are occurring in the field of population analysis. Only at rare intervals are five such important works produced in a given field in the course of a single year. The books included in this review demonstrate that the study of population is among the most highly developed phases of social science, that the quality of the work now being done in the field is of an enviable type, that it is possible to attain a high degree of objectivity in the analysis of human problems, and that the field of sociology can contribute highly significant hypotheses well supported by objective data.

The five books have little in common except their quality of excellence. The work by Dr. Thomas is confined to the selectivity in migration. She approached this special but highly significant topic with a broad perspective. A detailed study of Swedish data which are far superior to the American materials, an extensive annotated bibliography of American studies, and comparable analyses

of European sources (prepared by Rudolf Heberle and Fritz Meyer) are utilized in setting forth what is known concerning the differentials between migrants and nonmigrants. The following are the differentials considered: age, sex, family status, physical health, mental health, intelligence, and occupation. In addition, some consideration is given to differentials in motivation and assimilation. On the whole the analysis is of a high order, and the work will rank as a basic consideration of migration.

In such an extensive study there are of course several debatable procedures and conclusions. In the first place one finds in the work no workable definition of migration. The discussion of age differentials seems unnecessarily long, since the net results are in full accord with those of earlier studies. This is all the more the case since age at migration is so greatly dependent upon the definition of migration that is used. The use of a curve showing sex ratios by age, as a technique for demonstrating sex selectivity in migration, instead of the simpler sex ratio, is open to some question. Such a curve gives unjustifiable weight to the upper age groups; and the author has made no attempt to adjust the data for the significant errors that are introduced through the consistent understatement of women's ages. With respect to health differentials Dr. Thomas accepts conclusions that at least two of her three principal authorities are unwilling to state. A final question may be raised about terminology. When the compound "in-migration" is rather generally followed by the preposition *to* and "out-migration" by *from*, are the prefixes either necessary or desirable?

Miss Moore's study, done as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of William F. Ogburn, deals entirely with Swedish data. The book is divided into two parts, "The Process of Migration to Stockholm," and "Comparisons of Adjustments of Migrants in Stockholm." The discussion in Part I reveals that the study is not a comprehensive study of cityward migration, but rather an analysis of the movement of people from *one* county to *one* city. In several chapters of Part I evidence is marshalled to show that the relative frequency of moves to Stockholm was greater from towns than from the strictly agricultural communities. This was interpreted as indicating that "people tend to migrate between communities resembling one another in industrial development." (p. 124) Part II demonstrates that the social characteristics of the migrants to Stockholm born in towns more closely resembled the characteristics of the city born than do the characteristics of migrants from the agricultural communities. The findings of this study furnish corroborative evidence for the hypothesis that migration is essentially a short-distance phenomenon. They also support the contention that the transition from a simple to a complex social environment is a gradual one.

Dr. Vance's memorandum is an attempt "to explore the redistribution of population within the United States as an area of research." It is concerned with: "(1) accepted interpretations in the field, (2) the materials on which these interpretations are based, (3) the gaps in the data, and (4) the next lines of feasible research." (p. 1) An Introduction sets forth the concept of population redistribution and outlines the method of study. The study is conceived of as falling into the following six sections: (1) general considerations; (2) contrasting areas of economic

opportunity; (3) differential population increase; (4) differential changes in employment capacity; (5) movement of employment opportunities; and (6) internal migration and labor mobility. All of these are reviewed in the six chapters of the book, but the investigation was focused on rural-urban migration and occupational mobility.

A noteworthy feature of the memorandum is the form in which the materials are presented. Propositions, corollaries, assumptions, queries, and projects clearly set forth in italics carry the reader's interest from one important part to another. Dr. Vance has done students of population a service by these challenges he has so lucidly set forth.

It is interesting to the student of population to consider the things which Dr. Whelpton, a life-long student of population, considers the next steps needed in population research. Strictly speaking the memorandum is more an analysis of previous work than it is an outline of future procedure. Brief analytical summaries of the data, methods, and findings in the following fields are presented: (1) population forecasts and estimates; (2) official population statistics; (3) fertility and fecundity; (4) mortality; (5) migration; and (6) optimum size of population. Following the chapters devoted to these topics comes the summary in which the author states his conclusions as the next steps. As a conclusion to the memorandum Dr. Whelpton presents three outstanding problems which he believes to rank at the top of all questions deserving attention.

1. The motives leading couples to want a given number of children and practice birth control accordingly, considering not only the economic and biological matters affecting them personally but also the more general social matters affecting the attitude of the group.

2. The comparison of the present distribution of population within the nation with the optimum distribution, giving particular consideration to sub-marginal areas, areas of extremely dense population, and areas most capable of supporting more people.

3. The changes which are taking place in the hereditary makeup of the population, including their direction, rate, and causes.

One can expect greater agreement on accomplishments than on proposals for future research, and it is likely that Whelpton's greatest contribution is in the concise systematic outline of past discoveries that he has presented. With a slightly greater emphasis on documentation the work could have been made more useful to the average teacher and researcher.

Perhaps no population in the world has ever been the subject of so much discussion, argument, and prophecy as that of France. Real or imagined problems of depopulation have troubled France for many decades, giving rise to a vast amount of literature on the subject. For the most part this has been unavailable to the American student. Professor Spengler has applied an unusual amount of both talent and energy to assembling, arranging, and interpreting this mass of information. His work deserves careful study by every student of population matters.

Dr. Spengler opens the discussion in Chapter I with an outline of depopulation in the history of France from 1700 to the present. Frequently in the past, French mortality has exceeded fertility, but after a lapse of a decade or so the differential has been reversed. Regional variations in population increase have been marked. Very early in France the now well-known rural-urban differential in natural increase exhibited itself. Since 1800 five-sixths of all the growth in France's population has been contributed by the one-fifth of the departments that

are most rural and agricultural in makeup. Chapter III demonstrates that the low fertility of married couples brought about a greater decline of natural increase in France than in other countries, and Chapter IV is an exhaustive treatment of differential fertility. Chapters V and VI summarize French diagnoses and prescriptions for depopulation over the entire span of time 1400-1937. Then comes a thorough analysis of the French explanations of the declining fertility of population. The nature of the thinking on colonization, emigration, and immigration policies occupy Chapters VIII and IX. French measures to promote natural increase are summarized in Chapter X. The final chapter is a conclusion and interpretation. Here Dr. Spengler appraises the French trends and measures. His significant concluding paragraph deserves quotation in full:

Six conclusions are suggested by the discussion in the preceding sections. First, while personal happiness and welfare are not wholly dependent upon the level of per capita income, they are dependent thereon in an appreciable degree, particularly in a country wherein income is as low as in France. Second, the economic welfare of the French masses will tend to be benefited by either a complete cessation of population growth or a limited diminution of the population. Thirdly, present efforts to stimulate population growth in France are essentially the efforts of groups whose economic and social interests run counter to those of the French masses. Fourth, in the absence of a profound change in the income and social structure of France, a change likely to be favored by efforts both to stimulate natality and to adapt the French economy to a falling population total, measures to stimulate French population growth are bound to fail. Fifth, the "struggle for population" may become integrated with the class struggle now under way in France and may be resolved in the course of the resolution of the latter (and at present) more important struggle. Sixth, in the absence of a sane fact-implemented consideration of social ends and demographic means, France is unlikely for decades to "solve" the population problem. (pp. 299-300.)

NEGRO EDUCATION

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AMERICAN CASTE AND THE NEGRO COLLEGE. By Buell G. Gallagher. With a foreword by William H. Kilpatrick. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. 463 pp. \$2.50.

THE NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATE. By Charles S. Johnson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. 399 pp. \$3.00.

NEGRO EDUCATION IN ALABAMA, A STUDY IN COTTON AND STEEL. By Horace Mann Bond. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, 1939. 358 pp. \$3.25.

These three books treat from different perspectives the problems and programs of the education of the American Negro. President Gallagher's discussion represents the concern and genuine interest of an administrator of a Negro college in regard to the function of Negro education in the American social order. Dr. Johnson's study is an analysis of factual data regarding the efforts, results, and problems of Negro education as reflected in the life, work, and achievement of Negro college graduates in the United States. Professor Bond's study sets forth the historical conditions, personalities, and other social factors connected with Negro education in a specific area (Alabama).

Dr. Gallagher, the president of Talladega College, has set forth in a most interesting style some reflections and ideologies regarding the Negro and education in the American social order. The discussion is centered around the place and function of the segregated college for the Negro American. The underlying thesis of the book is that racial prejudice and racial distinctions in the United States have effected a caste system, and that the caste system is an established part of American life with particularly clear legal and social definitions in the South.

In line with the predication of social distinctions that lead to the separation of the white and Negro races with the fixed idea of the superordination of the former and the subordination of the latter, the author traces the historical conditions leading to present situations and the resulting effects of maladjustment. The problems relating to the Negro arising out of the caste system are set forth along with the programs advanced by various organizations and agencies to meet these problems.

With the caution of a conditional statement, President Gallagher asserts: "If the weight of caste is ever to be eased so that the Negro may draw a free breath and come into his birthright as an American citizen, and particularly if the Negro college is to play an active though subsidiary part in transforming the caste system and opening broad avenues of opportunity to all people, critical intelligence and humane understanding must be brought to bear upon the present institution of higher learning for Negroes."

In the discussion, the Negro college is considered not as a separate and distinct unit, but as a related institution in the field of education, and as an important force in the social process. Dr. Gallagher points out that the college should bear a functional relation to community life and social problems, and that there are fundamentally no differences between colleges best suited to whites and colleges best suited to Negroes. The author, however, calls attention to the fact that in the social order the Negro college is faced with the additional problem of a minority group in connection with the improvement of status and opportunities.

The treatise of Dr. Gallagher is a study in social attitudes and social problems, and as such is of value to persons interested in the study of human behavior as well as to those whose specific interests may be in the field of education and minority group problems.

Through a grant from the General Education Board, Dr. Johnson, the Director of the Social Science Department of Fisk University, conducted an extensive survey of Negro college graduates. The findings and conclusions of this survey are published in the volume, *The Negro College Graduate*. In the study of Negro life and problems many and varied questions are raised and discussed regarding the Negro and college education. These questions represent not only the special attention and concern of the scholar and the serious student, but also the interest of laymen. Philanthropic boards and individuals whose interest in promoting and aiding Negro education and persons directly connected with the administrative and teaching department of schools are also frequently in need of information regarding Negro college graduates. It is to this large body of persons that Dr. Johnson's treatise is informative and valuable.

The significance and special value of Dr. Johnson's study appear to be the method and treatment of the data representing hundreds of individual cases. Through the questionnaire method, direct personal interviews, records, reports of colleges, and other organizations keeping records of college graduates, first hand and direct information was obtained, organized, tabulated, and to a certain degree interpreted. This information from primary sources takes on the value of factual data. Along with the factual data are explanatory and interpretative discussions which not only inform but give bases for

inferences and deductions. The treatise thus becomes stimulating and thought provoking.

From a careful study of this treatise the reader is able to obtain information and ideas regarding the social participation of the college-bred Negro in American life in various geographical areas and in varied fields such as the political, the professional, and the business fields. The role of the college Negro in the relatively isolated life within the Negro group is revealed along with the function and activities in the field of race relations and interracial relationships. In this respect the publication is valuable from the point of view of group participation. In connection with the study of group life and social participation, the study of the Negro college graduate is revealing and informing from three points of view regarding the college or professionally trained Negro: (1) the function and evaluation of the college and university in the life of the community and the nation; (2) the specific value to the Negro group in the light of the particular problem of the Negro and the relatively isolated place of the Negro in American life; and (3) the Negro in contact and in social participation with the white elements of the population.

The treatise, including the appendix, contains 146 tables and 20 charts which give summarized, detailed, and comprehensible statistical descriptions of masses of numerical data. These data cover a wide range of topics relating to the social and economic life of the Negro, and constitute material which makes the publication a valuable reference book on the Negro.

In the treatise, *Negro Education in Alabama*, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Director of the School of Education, Fisk University, presents a study of the social and

economic forces affecting education and educational institutions. Underlying the study of social conditions is the emphasis placed upon the effect of the natural resources on the political, social, and economic order. In this setting, the author shows how the agricultural, industrial, and political situations have influenced and determined the kind and degree of education. Since cotton and steel are basic factors in the economic life of Alabama, Dr. Bond's study of the influence of these basic factors on the culture of the state may be regarded as a revealing document concerning the effect of the natural resources of an area on the life of people.

Following the presentation and analysis of historical material relating to slavery and the reconstruction period the author shows how the conception of the role of the Negro and the status assigned the Negro in the social order are factors which prompted the advocates of Negro education to base their arguments, programs, and plans around the conditions that equip and accept the Negro for profitable employment in line with the conception of the place of the Negro in the social order. Out of this social evaluation and definition of the situation, programs relating to Negro education were based around what was conceived or accepted to be the possible and the useful.

A chapter of the publication is devoted to a discussion of the role of personalities in Negro education. This chapter deals with the appraisal, criticism, and evaluation of educational leaders in the state. Despite the fact that Dr. Bond's discussion deals primarily with public education in Alabama, Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute (a private school), is discussed at length. The discussion of Dr. Washington and Tuskegee Institute is obviously associated with

his prominence and influence in Alabama and the nation, and also with the receipt of some public funds from the state of Alabama. Along with the evaluation and criticism of Dr. Washington and his work are statements that associate some donors to Tuskegee Institute with economic or industrial interests in Alabama.

In connection with the appraisal of the work and influence of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama (with special reference to Macon County in which Tuskegee Institute is located) it seems to the reviewer that such appraisal should be considered in the light of the social forces operative in the area with special consideration of the social attitudes and sentiments, and the rigidity of the plantation system affecting Negro life. In conclusion, the author states: "For Negro children involved in the plantation economy it is reasonably certain that a change in relative provision of education now made must wait upon fundamental changes in the economic system that now gives meaning to relations between white and black." In line with this general conclusion is apparently some explanation of the situation cited regarding Tuskegee Institute and its work in Alabama. It seems that the specific criticisms of Tuskegee Institute warrant some reference to Tuskegee in the general explanation of the difficulties and limitations imposed by the plantation system.

Dr. Bond's treatise is valuable to the historian and the social scientist as well as to persons interested in the field of education. To residents of the South, especially Alabamians, the book should have a direct and special appeal. The study was made possible by a grant from the Rosenwald Fund. Recognition of it as a scholarly achievement is indicated by award of the Susan Colver Rosenberger Prize Essay, 1937, The University of Chicago.

AMERICAN FAMILY LIFE AND THE DEPRESSION

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THE FAMILY AND THE DEPRESSION, A STUDY OF ONE HUNDRED CHICAGO FAMILIES. By Ruth S. Cavan and Katherine H. Ranck. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938. 208 pp. \$2.50.

THE FAMILY MEETS THE DEPRESSION. A STUDY OF A GROUP OF HIGHLY SELECTED FAMILIES. By Winona L. Morgan. University of Minnesota, the Institute of Child Welfare, Monograph Series No. XIX. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1939. 126 pp. \$2.00.

There is the general feeling that the depression must have had definite effects upon the organization and stability of the American family, but this is for the most part an impression from observation of isolated cases. Here are two attempts to collect reliable information on the actual facts in a number of cases (although in neither study are the numbers as large as one would desire—100 in the Cavan and Ranck report, and 331 in the Morgan study) on which information had been gathered prior to the depression.

Two general conclusions come out of the studies. Families tended to adjust to the circumstances resulting from the depression as they were accustomed to adjust to other crises. The depression was not an isolated factor influencing the families but a complication added to their already complex lives.

In the study by Cavan and Ranck the authors selected families on whom they had case records for the year 1927-28 in order that a comparison might be made with their condition in 1934-35. They apparently succeeded in obtaining a good sampling of Chicago families for those periods. The chief questions asked were concerning the effect of the depression on family disorganization, personal adjustment, attitudes (toward the depression),

problems of young people of marriageable age, and family mobility.

The types of disorganization that resulted from the depression were worry and discouragement, excessive worry and depression, and family disintegration. Methods of adjustment were modification of the functions, purposes, activities, and plans of the family; modification of attitudes with respect to rôles of the members of the family and the conceptions of family standards and status; or by evasions which resulted in pathological reactions in some cases.

Young people reacted to the depression in the patterns they were already accustomed to follow. Unemployment or low wages merely added to their existing dissatisfaction, restlessness, or resentment.

Families on relief showed a higher rate of mobility than those not on relief.

The study includes much interesting case material from the records, and a chapter on "Studies of the Depression," a summary of other reports on the social effects of the depression.

Emphasis should be put on the latter part of the title of Winona L. Morgan's book because its findings are valid only in the light of the fact that its subjects were from "highly selected" families (they were 331 cases formerly reported by Ruth Lindquist, *The Family in the Present Social Order*, University of North Carolina Press, 1931). For that reason the statement, "the family meets the depression," is misleading. One visualizes a sampling of *the American Family*, when actually we have families who for the most part were not seriously affected by the depression and whose members were

above average in background, education, and personal ability. When these things are recognized and taken into account the study is well worth an examination.

What do we discover? These highly integrated families, even those suffering from a considerable loss of income—about 50 percent had lowered incomes, 14 percent below \$1200—were able to maintain themselves without too serious difficulty. They curtailed such things as subscriptions to magazines, outside entertaining, and club memberships. Health care was *not* delayed. They had always relied on self-entertainment more than on commercial amusements, so the depression did not require sacrifice of personal pleasures. Only nine percent of the mothers felt that the effects of the depression had been entirely unfavorable for their family life, while nearly forty percent said that the depression had brought the members of the family closer together.

A copy of the questionnaire used in gathering information, comments on methods and uses of the materials, and an excellent bibliography are included in the report.

AFTER FREEDOM—A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE DEEP SOUTH. By Hortense Powdermaker. New York: The Viking Press, 1939. 408 pp. \$3.00.

Miss Powdermaker's study of Indianola, Mississippi shows a very complete and thorough digestion of the raw material upon which the study is based. It indicates the newest technique in studying group and cultural problems in this country: first came the statistical study, which tried to count facts but ended usually in a more or less foggy abstraction of figures, some of which were interpreted more or less thoroughly and others left entirely without interpretation. Then came the sociological study with statistical samples which is the prevailing mode

today. Miss Powdermaker's study marks the advent of cultural anthropology into the study of the American Negro problem. She attempts "to apply to a segment of contemporary American society the training and methods of a cultural anthropologist and whatever perspective had been gained through field work in civilizations other than our own." She sees "no reason why anthropology should not be used to help make our civilization, as well as savage ones, intelligible." In pursuit of this goal Miss Powdermaker has made a very careful and consistent study, with every effort to suppress bias, sticking almost too straitly to her subject and revealing in the finished story few obtrusions of the mass of irrelevant and contradictory data which she must have collected.

The first query which naturally arises in the mind of the reader is: Why there should be two books on this one little center, one by Dollard, a psychological sociologist, and the other by this cultural anthropologist; both agreeing in manner of treatment and in main conclusions; and why we should still lack the factual background which a thorough statistical study might easily supply. Evidently there is here a suppressed story of scholarly bickering which need not detain us and yet intrigues us, and concerning which Miss Powdermaker is rather loftily unconcerned merely remarking that she makes "no references" to Dollard's study, since her manuscript was written first. This is a better, clearer study than Dollard's but less human, especially in treatment of sex.

Nothing gives more eloquent testimony of the extraordinary atmosphere of fear and even violence that rests upon this community than the care with which the student's approach had to be made; the explanations, the warnings; and last but

not least, the fact that the author, sensing offense, capitalizes the word white "because the word Negro is capitalized throughout the book!"

The book is confined mainly to a consideration of the colored group with only passing reference to the whites, "as a social atmosphere." It is based on repeated interviews with nearly one hundred Negroes over the better part of a year, and on 256 questionnaires sent out among the whites. After an introduction concerning the approach and method of study, Miss Powdermaker divides her book into six parts: beginning with a seventy page study of the general social scene, of which 55 pages are devoted to the whites. The rest of the book deals almost exclusively with the Negroes.

The economic background is given 65 pages about equally divided between town and plantation. Cotton culture and land ownership are here considered, interrelation of the town and country group stressed, and the fact that the New Deal has brought to this part of Mississippi "the rather incongruous elements of paternal benevolence and revolutionary change."

The Negro family occupies 50 pages with stress upon its predominantly matriarchal type save in the small upper class. "The personnel of these matriarchal families is variable and even casual. Step-children, illegitimate children, adopted children, mingle with the children of the house. No matter how small or how crowded the home is, there is always room for a stray child, an elderly grandmother, an indigent aunt, a homeless friend."

The existence of an upper class is almost ignored by Dollard, but Miss Powdermaker recognizes its significance "This small, exclusive group is regarded with respect and a certain wonder by the rest of the colored population. Middle-class

women who are comparatively uninhibited in their own sexual behavior speak in tones of awe about a woman of the upper class who lives a severely strict life and has never been touched by the breath of scandal. It is in part this wondering respect which enables the upper class to exert an influence in the community far greater than its numbers would seem to warrant. They are leaders of real power."

Ninety-nine pages are given to the Negro church, an unnecessarily long treatment with nothing particularly new and yet a subject which would naturally attract an anthropologist. Education, on the other hand, is given only 25 pages and treated as a "faith" rather than a fact. Here, however, some figures of encouraging accomplishment are given.

The Negro's response to the whole situation occupies the last 50 pages and is interesting and important. "Among the younger generation, those in their teens, twenties, and thirties, resentment is keen and outspoken. These agree with the middle-aged in feeling that they are equal to the whites and in desiring equal treatment. They differ in not possessing or wanting to possess the tact and diplomacy of their elders."

The treatment of acculturation is well done and students will appreciate the answers of the whites to the questionnaires concerning Negroes printed in the appendix. They are informing as well as astonishing. It is, for instance, interesting to note that nearly forty percent of the whites believed that Negroes "are no different essentially from other people" and that fourteen percent admit that Negroes are rapidly reaching the cultural and intellectual level of the whites. On the other hand, nearly a quarter of the whites find Negroes "abhorrent"; while three-fourths believe that their place is in manual work and eighty-four percent

think they are inferior to white people in innate capacity.

One finishes Miss Powdermaker's study with the feeling that when in the future we can interpret statistics concerning Negroes with the trained insight of psychologists and anthropologists, eventually in spite of the plight of historical writing, we shall have a clearer picture of the American Negro and stronger incentives to methods of social uplift.

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A HISTORY OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY. By Charles A. Ellwood. New York: Prentice-Hall Co., 1938. 518 pp. \$2.60.

Written in Dr. Ellwood's clear, challenging style, this textbook is admirable as an introduction to the main currents of social thinking in Europe from the time of the great Greek philosophers into the last half of the nineteenth century. William Graham Sumner and Lester F. Ward are the chief Americans discussed and they are given space comparable to that awarded to Comte and Spencer. No attempt has been made to bring the treatment down to the present. Dr. Ellwood rightly considers that contemporary sociology is the proper subject for a separate volume, and it is to be hoped that he intends to prepare such a work.

Dr. Ellwood has divided his treatise into three parts. Part I, in sixteen chapters, covers what he calls the Precursors of Sociology and includes the Greek, Roman, and Medieval social philosophers and those moderns extending from Hobbes through Condorcet and the eighteenth century French and German social thinkers. This is a very good brief running sketch of trends in social thought through some two thousand years without a great many details and minus that heavier burden of underlying analysis which one

might expect in a larger work. The nineteenth century he subdivides into two parts, the One-Sided Social Philosophers, and the sociologists proper. By the one-sided philosophers he of course means those convinced ideologists advocating unilateral theories of social analysis and social reform, such as the socialists, anarchists, racialists, anthropogeographers, etc., whom most sociologists would now regard as propagandists rather than as sociologists properly speaking. He makes the sociologists begin with Saint-Simon and traces the main line of sociological descent through Comte and Spencer down to Sumner and Ward.

This is of course a rather conventional line of treatment and it is elementary. But these are not criticisms of a work intended for undergraduates and general readers. (There is a trade edition of the book under the title of *The Story of Social Philosophy*.) The present reviewer has used this volume as the first semester text in a graduate one-year course in European Sociology, following it with the second volume of Barnes and Becker. The contrast between the generalized discussion of the one and the mass of details of the other is very marked. Yet the combination is not without its merits for a variety of reasons. Ellwood's text can be used to best advantage in connection with a selected list of readings from the original sources and with a teacher who is sufficiently familiar with the field to provide background and illustrations. Yet the volume is very clear and should be in great demand in those schools desiring a brief and at the same time comprehensive text in this field.

L. L. BERNARD

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CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT. By Roger N. Baldwin and Clarence B. Randall.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938.
137 pp. \$1.50.
THE STORY OF THE C. I. O. By Benjamin Stolberg.
New York: The Viking Press, 1938. 294 pp.
\$2.00.

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin is the director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Clarence B. Randall is vice-president of the Inland Steel Company. The anomaly of their joint authorship is explained by the fact that in April, 1938, each delivered two lectures at Harvard University. These lectures, dealing with the general subject of "Civil Liberties and Industrial Conflict," have been brought together in the small volume bearing this title.

Both gentlemen regard themselves as champions of civil liberties. So widely divergent are their viewpoints, however, that it is not always apparent that they are talking about the same things, if indeed they are. Mr. Baldwin regards the autocratic control of industry as the chief obstacle to the attainment and security of civil liberties in this country. He looks upon labor's attempts to improve its position through organization and collective bargaining as an extension of democratic control; and he envisages the contest between employers and employees as a replica of the world-wide struggle between democracy and Fascism.

Mr. Randall's conception of democracy and civil liberties runs in simpler terms. He is concerned, first, with the plight of the employer who is faced with a strike, and who is without benefit of protection by the civil authorities; and second, with the plight of the individual worker who doesn't want to belong to a union and who thereby becomes the subject of all kinds of union pressure, with accompanying violations of his civil rights. In neither case is he very convincing. The implication that the employer, engaged in industrial

conflict with his employees, typically, or even frequently finds himself deserted by the civil authorities is simply not borne out by the record. Mr. Randall's concern for the individual worker who does not want to join a union is commendable. It may be observed, however, that when employers become equally solicitous for the rights of employees who do want to join unions as they profess to be for those who do not, their concern for the latter will carry more conviction.

The nature of Mr. Stolberg's volume is clearly indicated by the title. It has to do with the origin and development of the Committee for Industrial Organization (now the Congress for Industrial Organization), its progress to date, and its outlook in the future. The author gives a thumbnail sketch of the more important unions making up the C. I. O., and here and there he interjects some sprightly comment, mostly derogatory, concerning both his friends (few apparently) and his enemies (many) in the labor movement. Mr. Stolberg is the journalist throughout. He has written an interesting book, but the wise-cracks get sort of tiresome after a while.

H. D. WOLF

University of North Carolina

THE CITY: A STUDY OF URBANISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Stuart A. Queen and Lewis F. Thomas.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939. 500 pp. \$4.00.

This volume presents what seems to be the legitimate scope of urban sociology. Throughout it is singularly free from prevalent simple explanations of urban phenomena. The authors make the student aware of "blind spots" in our comprehension of the meaning of urban life. Generous and scholarly use of survey and research data gives much of the material a tangible and realistic background.

Studies made in St. Louis, Missouri, of ethnic groups, housing, juvenile court cases, death rates, size of family, mobility, suicide, etc., give the book a sound research basis. This will stimulate students to carry out similar surveys. General statistical data are well selected.

The student is confronted constantly with a genuinely critical point of view concerning going generalizations about urban life. The authors are cautious in their own generalizations, and label frankly their hypotheses. There is frequent insistence that we need more adequate studies of cities. There is scholarly and careful use of the concepts of ecology. The treatment of urban communities and neighborhoods is especially good. A section on Urban Institutions and Folkways reflects keen insight. The chapter on Social Planning could have been expanded to strengthen the book. In the light of present-day urban problems, Part V, which deals with Prediction and Control, seems inadequate. Chapter VII, Economic Institutions and Folkways is condensed almost to the point of distortion.

There are no suggested discussion topics or research projects listed at the end of chapters. Evidently the authors assume some intelligence on the part of college teachers. Selected readings are of the best.

In its delineation of the field, its careful analyses of urban patterns, and its tempered criticism of assumptions and hasty conclusions, the volume makes a distinct contribution to the understanding of urbanism.

CARL E. DENT

State College of Washington

PHILADELPHIA FOLKS. WAYS AND INSTITUTIONS IN AND ABOUT THE QUAKER CITY. By Cornelius Weygandt. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. 357 pp. \$4.00. Illustrated.

Not quite a decade ago, Cornelius Weygandt charmed us with *The Red Hills*—A Record of Good Days Outdoors and In, With Things Pennsylvania Dutch, and now he has brought us another equally valuable contribution to the study of folk society at a time when the folk and region are occupying the center of the stage. But *Philadelphia Folks* is not just one more book added to the rapidly growing literature in this field, for here is excellent portraiture of the blending of cultures that fashioned the city, determined its development, and still dominate this city, for many decades the third largest in the United States, but now in grave danger of losing that distinction.

Although *Philadelphia Folks* needs no apology or excuse for being, we are glad that Dr. Weygandt introduced his volume with an "Apologia," for, as well as in "The City with the Country Heart," here is found some of the richest material in this delightfully chatty, yet valuable and authentic chronicle of folk backgrounds and customs. Naturally, the volume is of particular interest to Philadelphians and more especially those who know Dr. Weygandt's Philadelphia, but the book cannot fail to interest any student of folk and cultural sociology. The setting down of the material follows no conventional pattern, but is presented in a series of portraitures which range all the way from such dignified subjects as The Centennial of 1876 and the Philadelphia Orchestra to "Pepper-Pot" and "Oysters in Every Style." Yes, food plays an important part in these sketches for both the stately Quaker and the thrifty Pennsylvania Dutchman have passed on to their descendants the heritage of good living. But they have passed on far more. Among other things, they have given the natives of the City of Brotherly Love a feeling of family pride and solidar-

ity combined with a peculiar "folksy" quality; conservatism in manners, clothes, housing, recreation, with an almost exaggerated cultural lag in the adoption of new ways and things; a love of good literature, good music, good plays, good art, but reserving to themselves the right of judgment rather than accepting the evaluations of others.

It is to be expected that even loyal Philadelphians will take Dr. Weygandt to task for certain, to them important, omissions. Nevertheless, they will cherish the book because they, too, will recall the "Whistles through the Night," relive the trek from Wayne Junction to Upsal Street, shudder or laugh at the attempt to remove Grand Opera from "south of Market Street" to "north of Market Street," bask in the delights of pepper pot or Philadelphia ice cream or cinnamon bun—to mention only a few memories dear to the hearts of Philadelphians—while pictures and pictures of their own making will take form out of the past. But more important here, these sketches are recommended to any and all who have asked themselves the question as to why Philadelphians think and act as they do and why a Philadelphian away from home never, never comes from *Pennsylvania* but always from *Philadelphia*. Dr. Weygandt has indeed given us, in a most readable form, an accurate, as well as a human picture of the Philadelphia mind as this reviewer knows it.

KATHARINE JOCHER

University of North Carolina

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND—A COMMENTARY. By Harold J. Laski. New York: The Viking Press, 1938. 383 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Laski has one major thesis which, in a sense, implements the title of Max Lerner's latest volume: *It Is Later Than You Think*. (Professor Laski dedi-

cates his book to Max Lerner.) It is that a basic change has occurred in the political situation in Great Britain—a change from a position in which all parties accepted the fundamental premises on which English society rested to one in which one block in that society questions those premises to the point of intending a substantial revision. It is Professor Laski's contention that once Labor comes to power with a working majority, committed to such basic revision, the party or parties of the right will refuse to submit without violence, and the moment that occurs, parliamentary democracy has irrevocably disappeared.

Professor Laski labors the point most of the way through the book. He finds it evidenced in foreign policy—the determination of the ruling class to preserve its position at home by permitting the rape of democracy in Spain, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere; in the House of Lords which, contrary to much popular belief here, he thinks holds a key position in the resistance of the owning class to any basic change in the British social order; in the civil service and the army, both dominated by the ruling class; in the courts which have shown an increasing disposition to retard such progressive legislation as the Parliament does enact; in the educational system which "is nothing so much as a gigantic training in habits of obedience." The inevitability of this approaching catastrophic dichotomy lies in the almost total inability of each class to understand the other—particularly of the ruling class in parliament, civil service, and the courts, to understand the underlying economic evolution which demands such sharp readjustments of existing social mechanisms.

The experience of members of the upper class, including those in various kinds of official positions, is such that they do not

speak the same language as the non-propertied classes. There is every reason to believe, and many examples cited by Professor Laski substantiate it, that even if a Labor government did come into power, its program, if it undertook basic changes, would be effectively sabotaged by the civil service, the army, and the courts—not merely as a matter of class interest, but also as the result of conditioned belief in the “right” way to do things.

I say that Professor Laski labors the point—as though he hoped to convince those who will not believe. His style is thus loose and repetitious, and since his illusions and examples are usually taken out of context, the whole depends for its effect on a considerable knowledge of British history and institutions.

Within the present social scheme, however, and in a parliamentary system of government, Professor Laski believes the House of Commons and the Cabinet to be among the best institutions democratic processes can achieve in a complex world. He defends them against the able criticisms of Ramsay Muir and Lord Hewart. He presents also, in his discussion of parties, a lucid exposition of the inevitability and importance of party government in a parliamentary regime and ably defends the advantages of the two-party arrangement over the multi-party system. The last chapter is devoted to comments on significant changes in the monarchy.

While the American reader who is not a specialist in British current affairs will find keen insights and pertinent parallels to problems in the United States, including occasional keen criticism of our institutions, he will find the book as a whole somewhat tiresome reading.

HARVEY PINNEY

New York University

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF PERSONALITY. By James M. Reinhardt. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938. 467 pp.

This introductory text follows the tradition of L. L. Bernard, but is influenced by the work of William Stern, Kurt Lewin, A. Myerson, and the functional and configurational cultural anthropologists.

It directs attention to personality and does not include the enticing field of collective behavior. This is as it should be, since the latter belongs primarily to the category of mass behavior rather than that of individual behavior, although, of course, the two are related. The author is a sociologist, and sociological textbooks in social psychology are necessarily driven to limit their field in consonance with sociological specialization, a limitation which prevents the occasional hodgepodge offerings of writers from other fields.

The chief contribution of the volume seems to lie in its emphasis upon the formative power of social values, as these are created by culture and varied by individual experience, such values not merely determining behavior patterns but bringing about an equilibrium of patterns characterizing the individual as a whole. In this stress, the work is in line with recent developments in the field and is a valuable addition to the scientific literature of social psychology.

The reviewer feels that the student using the book will be somewhat at a loss to account for the formation of personality in any precise way. Just how does experience organize the personality? Socio-cultural conditioning is frequently mentioned and its limitations noted, but on the whole personality formation is treated, and this is true of most texts in the field, as if it took place much like the exposure of a sensitized photo plate to an objective

world. Moreover, one misses clear-cut distinction between the role of culture patterns and of interpersonal relations, though the general problem of divergent behavior is treated at some length. One doubts the pedagogical value, in an introductory text, of two chapters on twins and two on occupation, the two topics taking up almost a fourth of the book. In spite of these criticisms the text stands as very well written and generally sound, and many teachers will find it extremely useful.

E. T. KRUEGER

Vanderbilt University

YOUR COMMUNITY: ITS PROVISION FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, SAFETY, AND WELFARE. By JOANNA C. COLCORD. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. 249 pp. \$1.85.

Probably one of the gravest shortcomings manifested by social workers in general is a relative weakness in a knowledge and use of available resources for treatment. Standards of adequacy of resources and facilities, also, are too frequently matters of much vagueness to the social worker. Although force of circumstances should dictate the importance of knowing what resources exist, all forward looking social work programs should also consider the possibility of what strengthenings and additions of resources might reasonably become available.

In the 19 chapters of *Your Community* is contained probably the most complete guide yet published for the determining of facts and factors concerning a wide range of community conditions and facilities of first line importance to the social worker. Brief and understandable comments, in many instances suggesting standards of effectiveness, are interspersed with a large number of questions, the answers to which would undoubtedly present a

complete picture of local conditions and resources in any community.

The following chapter headings indicate something of the scope of this book: Provision for Public Safety; Workers, Wages, and Conditions of Employment; Housing, Planning, and Zoning; Provision for Health Care; Provision for the Handicapped; Educational Resources; Opportunities for Recreation; Public Assistance; Special Provisions for Child Care. The chapter on Health consisting of 30 pages includes no less than 208 questions on health matters alone. The entire volume lists 1448 numbered questions and contains over 4000 separate inquiries since most of the questions are subdivided.

Although the Foreword states "It was decided, therefore, to address the present volume to the larger public rather than strictly to social workers," it is most probable that its chief value lies primarily as a guide to social workers themselves. In courses of instruction in community organization, *Your Community* can hardly be excluded if the knowledge of facts and resources of any community is one of the objectives of such training. It is not, however, in any sense a text on the techniques of community organization and little mention is made of underlying forces of community development or of the tremendous problems involved in coordination of effort.

The list of agencies contained in this book provides a convenient enumeration of most of the nation-wide agencies important to social work although one wonders when it includes such organizations as the American Society for the Hard of Hearing and the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York that it should omit the Birth Control Federation of America. This presumably is an oversight as elsewhere brief reference is made to contraception.

The rather comprehensive bibliography contains references mainly of an informational nature.

Altogether *Your Community* is refreshing and stimulating in its simplicity of presentation; facts and information necessary in order to know one's community are clearly indicated. Since it attempts practically nothing in setting forth techniques, it is safely outside the realm of controversy.

GEORGE H. LAWRENCE

University of North Carolina

CHRONICLES OF OLD BERKELEY: A NARRATIVE HISTORY OF A VIRGINIA COUNTY FROM ITS BEGINNINGS TO 1926. By Mabel Henshaw Gardiner and Ann Henshaw Gardiner. Durham, N. C.: The Seeman Press, 1938. 323 pp. Illustrated.

Proposing to give a narrative history of Berkeley County, Virginia, from 1772 to 1926, the authors have written six chapters devoted to the formation of the county, the establishment of towns and town life, institutional and industrial development, the militia and the Civil War, and reconstruction, and one chapter of short biographical sketches of citizens of the county. The work is poorly organized and loosely written. The authors jump from one topic to another and back again, and they leave the reader particularly confused as to the time element. Some of the sentences are vague and meaningless. Occasionally plural subjects are used with singular verbs and vice versa. The present tense is sometimes used even in recounting events which happened in 1772. There are inconsistencies in the use of names such as Harpers Ferry and Cohongorooton. The authors have not been very critical of local legendary and traditional stories; they repeat them as if their authenticity had been established.

This work is largely a compilation of documents and data from which history may be written. Long source documents

are reproduced and most of the book is made up of quotations from newspapers, diaries, town and country records, and personal letters and papers. The work has great value as a source for the history of the county, but a mere catalogue of births, marriages, deaths, schools, business enterprises, mines, stores, prices, newspapers, theatre programs, party platforms, epidemics of cholera and small pox, rosters of militia companies, etc., is not history. From these things much can be learned of the social, economic, cultural, military, and political life of the people, but they need to be digested and interpreted to give them meaning and significance.

While the authors have generally been content to give the facts, they have fallen into error in some of their interpretations. Their explanation of the difference between slavery and servitude is not convincing and the view that people hired slaves rather than bought them because they believed slavery was morally wrong is not the correct interpretation. Again, to take the position that the frontier settlers of Virginia did not begin to build blockhouses, stockades, and forts for defense against the Indians until the French and Indian War is untenable.

The *Appendices* contain four longer source documents than those reproduced in the body of the book. They are a petition concerning freedom of worship in 1776, gleanings from the records of the recorder of the town of Martinsburg from 1795 to 1832, and the diaries of Levi Henshaw and Hiram Henshaw written while on journeys from Berkeley County to Kentucky in 1828 to 1830. The documents will give the book whatever general interest it may have. For those interested in local history the book will be very useful.

FLETCHER M. GREEN

University of North Carolina

THE TOBACCO KINGDOM. Plantation, Market and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860. By Joseph Clarke Robert. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1938. 286 pp. \$3.00.

Although not generally recognized as such, tobacco is one of the most important farm crops. Since tobacco has to be processed before it can be used, all of it goes direct to market and its importance as cash farm income is accordingly enhanced. Situated as Duke University is in the center of one of the two most important tobacco producing areas in the United States, it is highly fitting that this institution should review the historical aspects of tobacco production.

Agricultural experiment stations, with their relatively limited resources, of necessity must do research primarily on what might be termed "practical" topics, that is, those of currently recognized importance. The long-run effects of history in explaining existing situations are not generally understood and appreciated. Endowed institutions can through such studies very effectively supplement the work of the "practically-minded" land-grant colleges and agricultural experiment stations.

The title of this study indicates what it contains, namely, a story of the cultivation, marketing and manufacture of tobacco in Virginia and North Carolina from 1800 to 1860. The two states are considered together because during this period they were in effect a single producing area.

The first and briefest section of the study is entitled, "Raising the Crop." Striking indeed is the similarity today and then in the general cultural practices followed in the growing of tobacco.

"Marketing the Leaf," is the second and a much larger section. It is interesting here to follow the developments which resulted from the change from production almost exclusively for export to a situation

where the domestic market was relatively almost as important. Hogsheading was by far the common method of marketing tobacco from 1800 to 1860, but by the latter year, from one-fifth to one-fourth of all tobacco was marketed in loose-leaf form under the warehouse-auction system which preceded in point of development the present-day auction method. The transportation systems of both Virginia and North Carolina, including canals, railways and roads, were profoundly influenced by considerations for expediting the movement of tobacco to market.

In the marketing of tobacco, then as now, some buyer for advertising effect would pay a very high price for a small lot of tobacco. Also, there were accusations then by farmers that there were secret agreements among supposedly competitive buyers. Contrary to general belief, the author is convinced that tobacco production expanded from the Revolution to 1840. He states that although expansion did not occur in the old area of Virginia and North Carolina, marked expansion into new areas in the South and West occurred.

Manufacturing is discussed in the third, final and longest section of the study. Measured by present-day standards, manufacturing was, during this period, decidedly small-scale, although the manufacturing units increased markedly from 1800 to 1860. Indicative of the manner of manufacture at the beginning of the period is the following statement: "Nearly every planter who raises tobacco to any extent is a manufacturer." Richmond was by 1860 the largest tobacco manufacturing center followed by Lynchburg and Petersburg. A great many Negro slaves were used in the tobacco factories, and this afforded a relatively lucrative outlet for slave employment to many owners.

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY

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NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- AMERICA AND THE REFUGEES.** By Louis Adamic. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1939. 32 pp. \$0.10. Illustrated.
- SELECTED WRITINGS IN PHILOSOPHY—A COMPANION VOLUME TO KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIETY.** Compiled by G. P. Adams, W. R. Dennes, J. Loewenberg, D. S. Mackay, P. Marhenke, S. C. Pepper, E. W. Strong. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1939. 355 pp. \$2.25.
- AFFILIATED SCHOOLS SCRAPBOOK: WORKERS' EDUCATION THROUGH ACTION.** New York: The Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc., 43 pp. \$0.25.
- MEN AROUND THE PRESIDENT.** By Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1939. 212 pp. \$1.50.
- WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A DOCTOR.** By Dwight Anderson. New York: Public Relations Bureau, Medical Society of the State of New York, 2 East 103d Street, 1939. 87 pp. \$1.00.
- THE COMPOSITION OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS.** By W. A. Anderson. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1938. 24 pp. Charts.
- ANNUAL REPORT: Monroe County Court. Children's Division, 1938.** 13 pp.
- THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.** Compiled by John B. Appleton. Portland, Oregon: Northwest Regional Council, 1939. 455 pp. \$3.00.
- HOUSING THE MASSES.** By Carol Aronovici. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939. 291 pp. \$3.50.
- MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY.** By Ray E. Baber. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. 656 pp. \$4.00.
- SOCIETY IN TRANSITION: PROBLEMS OF A CHANGING AGE.** By Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1939. 999 pp. \$5.00.
- THE REHABILITATION OF CHILDREN.** By Edith M. H. Baylor and Elio D. Monachesi. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939. 560 pp. \$3.75. Charts.
- AMERICAN EARTH.** By Carleton Beals. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1939. 500 pp. \$3.00.
- AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.** By Charles A. Beard. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 814 pp. \$3.75.
- AMERICA IN MIDPASSAGE.** By Charles A. and Mary E. Beard. Drawings by Wilfred Jones (Volume III, The Rise of American Civilization). New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 977 pp. \$3.50.
- SOCIAL ACTION: OUR HERITAGE OF FREEDOM.** By Helen Marston Beardsley. New York City: Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, 1939. 39 pp. \$0.15.
- A SUMMER IN THE COUNTRY.** Edited by Gertrude Binder. New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1939. 39 pp. Illustrated.
- DOWN-EAST DUCHESS.** By Ruth Blodgett. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939. 378 pp. \$2.50.
- RELIGION AND HARD TIMES.** By A. T. Boisen. New York: Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, 1939. 39 pp. \$0.15.
- THE COLLEGE PROFESSOR IN AMERICA.** By Claude C. Bowman. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 1938. 196 pp.
- LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS: ALIMONY.** Edited by John S. Bradway. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939. 320 pp.
- BATTLES WITHOUT BULLETS: THE STORY OF ECONOMIC WARFARE.** By Thomas Brockway. New York: The Foreign Policy Association, 1939. 96 pp.
- CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.** Edited by Francis James Brown, Charles Hodges, Joseph Slabey Roucek. New York: Riley & Sons, Inc., 1939. 717 pp. \$4.00. Maps.
- 1 TRAVEL BY TRAIN.** By Rollo Walter Brown. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. 317 pp. \$3.00.
- SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF GERMANY FROM WILLIAM II TO HITLER 1888-1938.** By W. F. Bruck. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1938. 291 pp. 12/6.
- PARADISE PLANTERS.** By Katherine Burton. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1939. 336 pp. \$2.50.
- CRIME AND SOCIETY: AN INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINOLOGY.** By Nathaniel F. Cantor. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. 459 pp. \$3.00.
- THE BIOGRAPHY OF A RIVER TOWN, MEMPHIS: ITS HEROIC AGE.** By Gerald M. Capers, Jr. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 292 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.
- CAPITAL GOODS AND THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.** Chicago, Illinois: Machinery and Allied Products Institute, 1939. 86 pp.
- MAN THE WORLD OVER.** By C. C. Carter and H. C. Brentnall. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. 508 pp. \$3.00. (Illustrated).
- AMERICA IN THE MAKING: FROM WILDERNESS TO WORLD POWER.** By Charles E. Chadsey, Louis Weinberg, and Chester F. Miller. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1939. 710 pp. \$1.76.

- VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE AT WORK AMONG NEGROES IN GEORGIA.** By Walter R. Chivers. A Brief Report of the Vocational Guidance Project for Negro Youths, 1937-1938. Sponsored by The Colored Division of The National Youth Administration of Georgia, 1938. 62 pp.
- ENGINEERING OPPORTUNITIES.** Edited by R. W. Clyne and Foreword by Dr. Karl T. Compton. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. 397 pp. \$3.00. Illustrated.
- THE BRITISH COMMON PEOPLE 1746-1938.** By G. D. H. Cole and Raymond Postgate. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. 588 pp. \$4.00.
- AMERICA'S ROAD TO NOW.** By Charles H. Coleman and Edgar B. Wesley. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1939. 623 pp., Appendices and Index. \$1.76. Illustrated.
- THE RACES OF EUROPE.** By Carleton Stevens Coon. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 739 pp. \$7.00. (Illustrated).
- DESIGNS IN SCARLET.** By Courtney Ryley Cooper. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939. 372 pp. \$2.75.
- DEPRESSION PIONEERS.** By David Cushman Coyle. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939. 19 pp.
- RURAL YOUTH.** By David Cushman Coyle. Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939. 35 pp.
- ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY.** By John F. Cronin. New York: American Book Company, 1939. 456 pp. \$2.50.
- PLATO TODAY.** By R. H. S. Crossman. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. 311 pp. \$2.50.
- THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM IN CALIFORNIA.** Prepared by Winston W. Crouch. Los Angeles, California: The John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation, 1939. 31 pp. \$0.10.
- ON AGRICULTURAL POLICY 1926-1938.** By Joseph S. Davis. Stanford University, California: Food Research Institute, 1939. 479 pp. \$3.00.
- TOWARD A HEALTHY AMERICA.** By Paul De Kruif. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1939. 31 pp. \$0.10.
- WHEN SOCIAL WORK WAS YOUNG.** By Edward T. Devine. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 163 pp. \$1.75.
- BUILDING THE THIRD REICH.** By John C. deWilde. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1939. 56 pp. \$0.25.
- POLITICAL ECONOMY AND CAPITALISM.** By Maurice Dobb. New York: International Publishers, 1939. 360 pp. \$3.00.
- THE ENGLISH BUSINESS COMPANY AFTER THE BUBBLE ACT 1720-1800.** By Armand Budington DuBois. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1938. 522 pp.
- BLACK FOLK: THEN AND NOW.** An essay in the history and sociology of the Negro Race. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. 401 pp. \$3.50.
- THE LIFE OF BRAXTON CRAVEN.** By Jerome Dowd. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1939. 246 pp. \$3.00.
- FARM CREDIT IN CANADA.** By W. T. Easterbrook with foreword by H. A. Innis. Toronto, Canada: The University of Toronto Press, 1938. 260 pp. \$2.50.
- FASCIST ITALY.** By William Ebenstein. Cincinnati: American Book Company, 1939. 310 pp. \$2.50.
- TOBE.** By Stella Gentry Sharpe. With Photographs by Charles Farrell. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 121 pp. \$1.00.
- DICTATORSHIP IN THE MODERN WORLD.** Edited by Guy Stanton Ford. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1939. 362 pp. \$3.50.
- SOCIAL DEVIATION.** By James Ford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 602 pp. \$3.50.
- ALBERT EINSTEIN.** By H. Gordon Garbedian. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1939. 328 pp. \$3.75. Illustrated.
- INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN THE SENTENCING TENDENCIES OF JUDGES.** By Frederick Joseph Gaudet. New York: Archives of Psychology, 1938. 58 pp. Charts.
- OUR CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER.** By Ruth W. Gavian, A. A. Gray, Ernest R. Groves. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1939. 684 pp. Appendix. \$1.80. Illustrated.
- SOCIAL PATHOLOGY.** By John Lewis Gillin. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. 648 pp. \$3.75.
- PLAN AGE: PRICE ANALYSIS IN INTERVENTIONIST PLANNING.** By Norman Leon Gold. The Planning Staff in Administrative Management. By H. Pasdermadjian. Washington, D. C.: National Economic and Social Planning Association, 1939. 96 pp. \$0.25.
- ECONOMICS FOR CONSUMERS.** Leland J. Gordon. New York: American Book Company, 1939. 638 pp. \$3.00.
- FINANCING GOVERNMENT.** By Harold M. Groves. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. 777 pp. \$3.75.
- THE LANGUAGE OF THE DREAM.** By Emil A. Gutheil. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939. 286 pp. \$3.50. Illustrated.
- PURSLANE.** By Bernice Kelly Harris. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. 316 pp. \$2.50.

- THE AMERICAN PRISON SYSTEM.** By Fred E. Haynes. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939. 377 pp. \$4.00.
- THE FAILING STUDENT: A STUDY OF ACADEMIC FAILURE AND THE IMPLICATION FOR EDUCATION.** By Kenneth L. Heaton and Vivian Weedon. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1939. 286 pp. \$2.50.
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